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ESSEX PAPERS (1675-77).

SELECTIONS FROM THE
CORRESPONDENCE OF
ARTHUR CAPEL EARL
OF ESSEX 1675-1677

EDITED

FOR THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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FOR THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BY
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PREFACE

THE Essex Papers amongst the Stowe Collection of MSS. in the British Museum, consist of the Letter Books of Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1672-1677. These are the letters he wrote while in office, copied by his secretary, Aldworth. In separate volumes are the letters written to him during the same period, together with a few letters written after his removal from Ireland.

The historical value of such a collection of papers has long been recognized, and some efforts have been made to present them in a convenient form to readers, who might well shrink from the task of wading through many bulky volumes of MS.

As long ago as 1770 the letters written by Essex in 1675 were published, prefaced by a memoir of the writer, taken from the *Biographia Britannica*. The volume was republished in Dublin, and a second edition, the third in all, was issued there in 1773. Why the Letter Book of that particular year was chosen, and why, after so considerable a success as three editions, no attempt was made to complete the work by issuing the correspondence of other years, has not been explained.¹

More than a century was to pass before the next effort was made to present to the public some of the Essex Correspondence. This is the volume published by the Camden Society in 1890. It is entitled "*Essex Papers*. Edited by Osmund Airy. Volume I. 1672-1679." The period of time which this volume really covers is from April 30, 1672, to April 27, 1675, and the letters written by Essex from January, 1675, were already in print.

In continuing the publication of the MSS., by another volume which includes selections of the Correspondence up to September,

¹ The Dublin reprint was probably due to the fact that many of the letters refer to that city.

1677, when Essex finally left Ireland, the present Editor has omitted the already printed letters written by Essex in 1675, as, though the volume which contains them is somewhat rare, it is, as he has found by experience, obtainable. It may be added that these letters are alluded to when necessary in order to explain the text.

Letters descriptive of the condition of foreign countries have been for the most part omitted from this selection, but room has been found for Lord Castlehaven's interesting account of Spain in 1677, in Letter lxxv, and for the letter to Sir William Temple from Sir William Godolphin (lxv).

At the date when this volume commences, the Parliament, more dreaded than desired even by some of those who had expressed a wish for its assembly, had just met, an event accompanied by a complete change of policy on the part of the King and the Duke of York. The change is described by Conway in his vivacious letter to Essex of April 27. The first impeachment of Danby, due to Arlington, was a failure, and appears rather to have strengthened the position of the new minister. It concerned Essex chiefly in the complicated business of the "Instructions." By these "Instructions," framed, according to his admission, by Ranelagh, the Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, it was stipulated that no letter for grants, etc., should be valid unless signed and reported upon by the Lord Treasurer. Danby, on his defence, was alleged to have said that Essex had applied for such instructions; a statement which caused an indignant denial from Lady Essex. It was calculated to injure Essex in the regard of Henry Coventry, the Secretary of State, who resented these "Instructions." The easy way by which letters for grants were procured through the good nature of the King had been not a little troublesome to the Lord Lieutenant, and he admits the usefulness of the "Instructions" for checking such laxity; but he was able to convince Coventry that he had not applied for them, and their friendship remained unimpaired by the incident. As to the Lord Treasurer's position, "One may easily guess," to quote William Harbord, how Danby obtained his friends in the House of Commons. Corruption, though not quite

the fine art it became under Walpole, had evidently begun its insidious course. "For my part," says Harbord, in Letter ii, "I see so much of this House, and how many poor creatures there are in it, that I dread what they will do." And again: "If Treasurer come off and get money, he, Ranelagh, Conway and that gang will let the world see the power they have; but I am apt to think they will hardly get money, or if they do, King must call back the forces in France against which no man dare speak in the House."

This was indeed a burning question. The letters of Lords Aungier and Conway (Nos. vi and vii) vividly describe the storm in the House when, after the debate upon the King's Address for recalling his subjects in the service of France, the division resulted in a tie. On the assertion that one of the members had been twice told there was a demand that the telling should be done over again. "And both parties," says Conway, "thinking themselves wronged by the reckoning, called one another all the opprobrious names imaginable, spit in one another's faces, pulled off one another's perriwigs, and were drawing their swords, but the Speaker, who was at the lower end of the House, foresaw what it would come to, and made up to the chair, which, in a minute's time had been impossible for him to do." On the following day, May 11, the question was carried according to the King's desire by one voice, without including the Speaker's, thus allowing Charles to recall out of the French service merely such of his subjects as he thought fit. Lord Aungier, it may be added, in his account of the scene, tells us that "to avoid a future reproach to posterity it was not entered in the Journal."

This storm in the Commons was succeeded by a sharp contest between the two Houses. Some members, by appearing at the bar of the House of Lords, had been guilty of infringing the privileges of the lower House. How the adroitness of Black Rod was pitted against that of the Sergeant of the House of Commons in the arrest and release of the prisoners is pleasantly narrated by Lord Aungier in Letter xxii.

Whether fomented by the King for his own purposes, as Harbord

intimates, or not, these differences between the Houses "put a stop to all proceedings at Court," and caused some delay of an answer to Essex's proposal that he should temporarily vacate his post in order to visit the King and discuss with him the state of Ireland.

This proposal was viewed with mingled feelings by Essex's enemies. Some who had been long working for his recall hoped that it might be so managed that he would never return. On the other hand, his presence at Court was not relished by those who feared it might lead to his relinquishment of the sword, which symbolized the Irish Vice-Royalty, for the even more coveted staff of the Lord Treasurer. The jealousy of Lady Danby, if not of her husband, was roused by this possibility.

Obstacles to the nomination of Lords Justices to serve in the absence of Essex were adroitly overcome by Coventry, at the Council meeting, and a letter was dispatched in haste, lest the King should change his mind. Then we have a bed-chamber scene, described by Harbord in Letter xxix, which gives us a curious glimpse of the confusion in which business was done. "About 8 of ye clock, however, I went to ye King's bed-chamber, and there found Keeper, Treasurer, Lauderdale, Conway and Ranelagh, and that they had gotten King in a corner, and were very busy with him, and were speaking about a parliament and Essex." This confusion resulted in the dispatch of two letters, the contents of which were not very harmonious. In one of them September 1 was inserted as the date for the assembly of an Irish Parliament. June was then more than half spent, and as no Parliament could be assembled in less than six months, the date was impossible. Not till he had received an amended letter, clear of these confusions, could Essex embark. He arrived in London early in July, 1675, and did not return till May of the following year. During this period he continued to hear from the Lords Justices, who governed in his absence. Letter xxxi is a specimen of these, and Letter xxxiii, which closes the Correspondence of the year 1675, has been inserted for its family interest.

With the year 1676 letters from Essex's own Letter Book appear

in this volume as these have not been printed before. They relate his strenuous efforts to obtain something like punctuality in the payment of the Army, and the commencement of his long and bitter conflict with Lord Ranelagh. His absence from Ireland was protracted long beyond the limits he had proposed, and we learn from Sir John Temple's letter (xxxv) that the only reason for delay was the recruiting of men in Ireland for the French service, which still went on "under the rose," and which it would have been difficult for Essex to wink at; though he had done so at a period when public feeling was not quite so strong against it.

It is from London that Essex writes to Danby on March 14 (xxxvi) giving a deplorable picture of the defenceless state of Ireland. On May 6, after a very unpleasant crossing, he is in Dublin again, and busied with a "perpetual crowd of visits." Coventry's letter of the following month (xlv), advising the removal of some troops into the North for the purpose of overawing Carrickfergus, and, by a show of force, repressing some seditions in Scotland of which the King had received information, afforded Essex another opportunity of revealing the wretched condition of the Army due to arrears of pay. Hopeless of pay, and unwilling that their families should starve, the men in some districts had been dispersed, that they might earn a living in some other way. This representation of the difficulty and expense of moving a few regiments into the North appears to have put a stop to the proceeding. The two letters to Coventry (xlv-xlvi) show the state of affairs and the uneasiness of the Lord Lieutenant. An unpaid Army, and an empty Treasury, ominously recalled the events of 1641. This uneasiness was soon to be increased by an ugly incident which might have developed into a serious mutiny, described in Letter lix.

Surrounded by these perils it is pleasant to discover a vein of dry humour in some of Essex's letters. This is notably the case in Letter lxii where he describes the desperate shifts made by Ranelagh's unscrupulous agents to avoid payment on their assignments. The suggestion that Charles in his ecclesiastical character as Head of the Church should deal with Ranelagh's shortcomings

is a jest worthy of the Merry Monarch. A similar species of bitter humour breaks out in the Lord Lieutenant's description of his guard of Battleaxes, whose habiliments seem to have been worthy of Falstaff's Company. They were clothed "in coats of different colours, and those so very coarse and ragged, as, when I stirr out, it looks as if I were rather attended by a company of Bayliffs than a guard."

Before concluding a brief review of the letters of this year attention may be drawn to Sir Robert Southwell's letter (liii). The Habeas Corpus Act is regarded as the chief glory of the reign of Charles II, but the case of Francis Jenks, or Jenkins, the linen draper, to whose imprisonment some have contended it was really due, is almost forgotten. This letter may revive the memory of one to whom we owe some gratitude. His courage in demanding a new parliament, his refusal to retract, his unjust imprisonment, and his persistency in applying for his Habeas Corpus, making application three times in one day (*see* Letter liv), were the material Shaftesbury, "the great man turned citizen," required for forcing the measure through Parliament.¹ In connexion with this incident Harbord's letter (lxx) is remarkable for its relation of the intention of the House of Lords to force a dissolution on the plea that the House of Commons had been corrupted and was thus unfit to represent the country.

The year 1677, Essex's last year in office as Lord Lieutenant, begins with a repetition of the story of Ranelagh's defalcations in a letter to Sir H. Capel (lxxi.). Essex is of opinion that Ranelagh and his partners had received "money enough, nay, perhaps more than enough, to discharge all the payments they undertook"; but he presumes that large sums have been distributed at Court—a presumption which few could question.

Some light is shed upon an obscure period in the history of Presbyterianism in Ireland by the series of letters beginning with lxxvi and ending with lxxvii. The account of the exploits of some

¹ Hallam in his *Constitutional History*, vol. II. p. 170-1 minimizes the effect of Jenks's imprisonment on the passing of the Act; but that Shaftesbury used the incident with telling effect there can be no doubt.

preachers from Scotland, the action of the Bishop, and the efforts to apprehend them, form materials for a chapter in some future history of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.

The same Bishop who so strongly objects to the intrusion of the Scotch preachers into his diocese is also active in suppressing the Tories (xciv). A vivid description of the ruthless way in which these lawless men were hunted down is also contained in the letter from Lord Masserene (lxxxiv).

Several letters describe the intrigue to compel the resignation of Essex and to substitute a more pliable instrument in his place.

Before Essex returned from his visit to England he had discussed with his brother, in an interview they had at Dunstable, a scheme for calling an Irish Parliament, and nominating as Lord-Justices, Lord Orrery, Lord Granard and Lord Conway. The Parliament, and the appointment of the other Lords-Justices, was regarded as but a pretence "to bring all into my Lord Conway's hands as Deputy" (xxxviii). To strengthen the scheme, and probably with the idea of making it more palatable to the King, the Duke of Monmouth was drawn in as a figure-head Lord Lieutenant, for whom Conway should act as Deputy on the spot.¹ The determined opposition which this naturally evoked from the Duke of York seems to have been overlooked, and the scheme, being thus heavily weighted, is not very creditable to the foresight of those who favoured it. The part which Danby played in the matter is somewhat doubtful, and the evidence is contradictory. His denial, in Sir Cyril Wyche's letter (cxvii), of any participation in the business is not convincing, considering his intimate relations with Ranelagh and Conway, and with the Duchess of Portsmouth. It is hardly credible that the chief minister of the day could have been "unconcerned either way" in the disposal of what, next to his own, was the most important office under the Crown.

Sir Robert Southwell's letters (liii, xci, and cxviii) represent the conflict between the House of Commons and the King on the foreign policy of the country. The determination of the House

¹ See Transactions of the R.Hist.Soc., 3rd Series, Vol. V, "The Intrigue to Deprive the Earl of Essex of the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland."

to force the King into hostility with France without definitely granting any subsidy is very clearly expressed, and the dismissal of the Spanish Envoy Extraordinary is an interesting episode in the struggle.

On April 14 (xcix) Essex is informed by Harbord of the certainty of his recall, and a few days later Ormond's brief but friendly note (civ) removed any doubts as to the identity of his successor. Indeed the same day on which he received it brought an autograph letter from the King to a similar effect, together with one from Coventry. Evidently gratified that he was to be succeeded by Ormond instead of by Conway, Essex resolved to remain in office until the arrival of his successor, in order that he might place the sword in his hands. The period, however, was much longer than he had anticipated, and as month followed month he did not suppress some signs of impatience to be gone.

Unfortunately a most extraordinary and regrettable incident embittered the last few months of his residence in Ireland.

The Brabazon affair, first disclosed in Essex's letter to his brother of May 12 (cxii), and the subject of several succeeding letters, is so remarkable in the light it throws on the condition of the times and on the unscrupulous methods of some of the enemies of the Lord Lieutenant, as to justify its publication in the Editor's opinion. Were it otherwise, so unsavoury a piece of scandal might well have been left undisturbed.

Interesting also, for its revelation of the manners of the period, is Coventry's letter of June 12 (cxxi), with the petition brought by one of the grooms of the bed-chamber from Mrs Gwyn, and containing the King's dry comment on women's ways of doing business.

The few letters written to Essex after his arrival in England, and the temporary renewal of a correspondence by Orrery in 1679, described on pp. 149-150, have not been considered of sufficient interest to be included.

The portion of the Correspondence which is in cipher, and which has been deciphered by Essex's secretary, will be found printed in italics. In some cases this guide to its interpretation is absent, and where the cipher is deciphered in the foot-notes the Editor must be held responsible for its correctness.

It may be a source of regret that more of the letters of that renowned statesman and diplomatist, Sir William Temple, have not been included, but, as these refer almost exclusively to the conference at Nimeguen, it was thought that, together with a letter from Louis to Charles, copied by Sir Cyril Wyche, they might be more appropriately included in a monograph upon that important conference of the European Powers.

The Editor desires to acknowledge the valuable help he has received from Mr T. B. Dilks, B.A., in correcting the proof sheets of this volume and in compiling the index.

C. E. P.

ESSEX PAPERS (1675-77).

I.—LORD CONWAY¹ TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

London 27 Aprill 1675.

May it please Yr. Excel^{sie}.

I came to this towne on Saterdag last and the next morning was two howers with *Treasurer* by whom I found that *all their measures* were alter'd since I last saw him, that King and Duke were resolved to keep up Parliament to raise the old *Cavaleers and the Church party* and to sacrifice *Papists and Presbyterians*. I asked him what then was the reason of the *Divisions* among that *Party*, he said it was because of faction yet in ye Court, why then, said I, you begin at the wrong end, for you should show *King* the necessity of throwing *Arlington*² and *Ormond*³ to the Divell, and then *Parliament would be united*. I believe he sat musing a quarter of an hower before he gave me any answer, then he said—*King* hath shewed one example of severity for he hath taken away ye *Lord Clarendon's*⁴ place for joyning with those that are against him though another misdeamenor be pretended.

This is the ground of the hot contest now in the house of Lords about the Test desired to be settled by Act of Parliament for all members of both Houses to take before they are admitted to sit, wch is the very same that all Lord Lieutenants of Countyes and Deputy Lieutenants have taken, only we add a Penalty to it that they shall not sit in Parliament till they take it, that the Government in Church and State may be preserved.

Yesterday an Impeachment was brought into the Howse of

¹ Edward, Viscount Conway, created Earl of Conway, 1679

² Henry Bennet, created Earl of Arlington 1672 Sec. of State till 1674, Lord Chamberlain 1674.

³ James Butler, 1st Duke of Ormond.

⁴ Henry Hyde who had succeeded to the Earldom of Clarendon on the death of his father in 1674. In July, 1665, he had been appointed Lord Chamberlain to the Queen.

Commons against my Lord Tresurer by *Arlington's wishes*. Mr Russell¹ ushered it in, Sir Sam Barnardiston² presented it, Mr Powell³ seconded it, Sir Tho: Meeres⁴ thirded it and Sir Tho: Littleton⁵ fourthed it. But such pitifull stuff it is that it will redound infinitely to his advantage, Colonell Strangewaise⁶ was so violent in my Lord Tresurer's behalf that he spoke some very injurious words against them, upon wch some called to the Bar, others to have him explaine himself, but he answered he would doe neither till he knew whether the Howse took offense at it, and so went to his Pipe of Tobacco, without any further concernment. I saw him and his sonne this morning with my Lord Tresurer and many others but not Sir H. Capell.⁷ It was all their work this morning to proceed upon those Articles, and so far as they have gonne, they have voted that there is no ground of Impeachment, and his enemyes would be very glad it might all rest without further examination thinking this would be sufficient to bespatter him, But his friends drive it on to a thorough Examination. And by their means it is to be reassumed again to-morrow morning. I am running on so fast to give your Excel^{cies} account of things here that I had almost forgot your particular Commands. When I delivered yr letter to *Treasurer* he told me that he perceived much was left to my Relation,⁸ upon wch I explained to him the grounds wch moved yr Excel^{cies} to Recomend to him a particular managem^t of the Revenue in Ireland, wch he fully approved of when I opened to him the advantages the King would have by a Parliament there, and he said the King was resolved we should have one. Afterwards he carried me to the King, where I delivered yr Excel^{cies} Letter and

¹ Member for Tavistock, in 1678—succeeded to the courtesy title of Lord Russell.

² M.P. for Suffolk, concerned in the dispute with the House of Lords, May 9th, 1668, *see Pepys' Diary*.

³ Mr Powell or Pawley, M.P. for Cirencester had opposed the marriage of the Duke of York in the debate of Oct. 20th, 1673, *see* vol. 1.

⁴ M.P. for Lincoln.

⁵ Made Treasurer of the Navy in conjunction with Osborne, in 1668.

⁶ Giles Strangeways, M.P. for Dorset. He died a few months later.

⁷ Brother of Essex.

⁸ The letter by itself being incomplete.

he ordered me to wait upon him whensoever any thing was seasonable to be done about the affairs of that Country.

Last night I supt or rather dined though it was 10 a clock at night (for so long the Howse of Lords sat) with *Lodderdale*¹ who is no more concerned, nor thinks himself in no more danger than I am.

One thing I must not omit *Coll Talbott*² is trying all ways in the world how to propose a friendship with *Essex* and the reason is because *Duke* hath told him that he finds it impossible to shake *Essex*. So you will hear more of this from others.

D: of Portsmouth³ is very great and hath given out words as if *she were married* and doth not think unlawfull for a King to have as many wives as he please.⁴ She hath forsaken *Arlington*, and is wholly concerned for *Treasurer* but *Monmouth* is all for *Arlington* . . .

When I waited upon the Duke of York I told him that your Excell^{cie} commanded me to present yr humble duty to him, and that you wd be extreme glad of any opportunity to serve him, wch he seemed to take very kindly . . .

Treasurer told me he wondred *Essex* would not write to him his apprehensions of *Ormond*, the danger of his interest in *Ireland* and the insecurity to all by reason of *Arran's*⁵ *Regiement*, that if he would write to him but one word of it, it should be all removed.

¹ John Maitland, 2nd Earl, created Duke of Lauderdale, 1672, member of the Cabal, an address had been voted by the Commons in 1673 to remove him from the King's Councils and presence for ever, several addresses followed.

² The famous "Dick" afterwards created Duke of Tyrconnell.

³ Louise de Quérouaille.

⁴ For repeating this gossip and some other news, Mr Stisted or Stysted was sent to the Gatehouse and examined in Dec. See *Domestic State Papers* 1675, pp. 432, 434, 437, 440, 441.

⁵ Richard, Earl of Arran, 2nd son of Duke of Ormond.

II.—WILLIAM HARBORD¹ TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

London 1 May 75:

May it Please yr Excellency,

I have received both yrs the one of ye 19th the other of the 24th² of April and in answer to the first I doe assure yr Excellency that I have used all the care I can to *sett matters* right between *Essex* and *S: Coventry*³ as the best service I *can possibly doe Essex*, *for I am sure he will never lead Essex into any danger, nor lay any snares for him*; . . . Treasurer hath by some means or other, though one may easily guess how, gott so many friends in our House that right or wrong they will bring things of, though ye manner is so violent and extraordinary yt it doth him more harme than if he were found more guilty by a more seasonable way of proceeding; and if he cannot procure money with this great party he is lost with King wh will be seen this next week; and many of his friends to my knowledge are against it. For my part I see so much of this House, and how many poore creatures there are in't that I dread what they will doe . . . *I am well assured ye King hath promised Sunderland*⁴ *yt he shall succeed Essex, and telling Conway this day that I had heard such a thing he was inquisitive as to how I had heard it, and to try him; I told him that I sawe no reason why other noblemen should not hope for imployment as well as Essex in their course; he seemed very much concerned at it . . . I am een weary of my life to sitt dayly 7 or 8 hours in ye house and at last be forced to vote against my reason or steale away, and if that be found out it gives offence also. If Treasurer come off and gett money, he, Ranelagh, Conway and yt Gang will let ye world see ye power they have, but I am apt to think they will hardly gett money, or if they doe King*

¹ Son of Sir Charles Harbord, M.P., for Launceston, and himself M.P. for Thetford.

² Letter of the 19th a brief note asking him to see things right with Coventry; that of the 24th deals with the same matter, and with the purchase of Essex House.

³ 3rd son of Thomas, 1st Lord Coventry, became Secretary of State in 1672. "A mighty, quick, ready man, but not so weighty as he should be." Pepys in 1667.

⁴ Robert Spencer, 4th Lord Spencer and 2nd Earl of Sunderland.

must call back the *forces in France* against wh: no man dare speak in ye House . . .

III.—LORD CONWAY TO THE COUNTESS OF ESSEX.¹

London 1st May 1675

Madam

I had the honour to receive yr Ladis^{ps} letter of the 21st past so late last night that I could not afterwards wait upon my Lord Treasurer who I had then taken leave of about eleaven a clock.

I think myself extreme happy to be honored with your commands for I have indelible obligations upon me, left me by my Father wch make me ambitious to serve yr Ladis^p with the greatest fidelity, and I could not of my own choice have determined it to a person of greater honor and vertue than yr Ladis^p.

If it were not so, certainly my Lord Lieutent might receave as much prejudice by this letter of yr Ladis^{ps} as by anything I know; But I have condemned it to the flames and for yr own satisfaction give me leave to return Yr Ladis^p this account. First, my Lord Treasurer, who gave a relation of what had past in Councill about these instructions² wch yr Ladis^p mentions, said nothing to me of defending himself by any Letters of my Lord Lieutenant's, and it is very improbable to me he should doe so, when there is nothing in these Instructions but what my Lord Treasurer may claime of Right, having the same jurisdiction over the Treasury of Ireland as of England.

Yesterday my Lord Ranelagh thinking that article might be proceeded upon in the Howse of Commons desired me to acquaint my Lord Treasurer that if he pleased he would appear at the Bar of the Howse to give them an account of these Instructions and to take upon himself the justifying of them, But my Lord Treasurer

¹ Elizabeth, only daughter of Algernon Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland.

² These instructions stipulated that no letters, for grants, etc., should be valid unless signed and reported upon by the Lord Treasurer, thus, to some extent, ignoring the Secretary of State. The rumour that Essex had asked for such instructions was indignantly denied by Lady Essex.

would not suffer it and told me he was sure he could justify himself, and knew not whether he could so easily defend my Lord Ranelagh, wherefore I write this to shew yr Ladis^p if he were so carefull of my Lord Ranelagh, I am sure he is much more tender of my Lord Lieutenant. Upon the whole matter I cannot believe (having not yet spoken of it to my Lord Treasurer) that he hath endeavored to cast anything of it upon my Lord Lieutenant, But I am afraide that Mr Harbord endeavors to make my Lord Lieutenant concerne himselfe more in this affaire than is for his interest to doe, for he runs about to the Secretarys of State to make my Lord Lieutenant's excuse and beg their pardons, when the sole question depends upon my Lord Treasurer's Right and doth not concerne my Lord Lieutenant at all.

I find that my Lord Arlington doth likewise put Mr Harbord upon it to perplex my Lord Lieuten^{ts} minde with apprehensions that the King hath promised to send over my Lord Sunderland in his place, whereas I am sure there is no such thing, nor anything tending towards it.

So far as the progress hath gone hitherto upon my Lord Treasurer's Impeachment yr Ladis^p will heare from others that the whole party joined together against him upon the first Article was but 105 voyces, among wh Sir Hen. Capell was one, but he was acquitted by 181 votes, And upon the second Article he was acquitted by the whole Howse except six voices, And I am very well assured they would have acquitted him of all, but my Lord Treasurer would not be satisfied with such a sumary way of proceeding.

I am very confident yr Ladis^p will heare of a very good Issue to this Session of Parliam^t, that they will give money though not much, and passe severall Bills grateful to the Country.

I cannot give yr Ladis^p a better account of this affaire till I speak with my Lord Treasurer wch I endeavored to do since I began this Letter, but there was such a throng about him that I despaire of an opportunity till tomorrow. In the meanetime I beseech yr Ladis^p to harbour no jealous opinions of my Lord Treasurer wch may hurt you, and can do you no good. I finde

him extreme full of respect and kindnesse to my Lord Lieutenant, and I am confident you will finde this Information you have receaved, (who it comes from I know not) to be no more than a mere cheat put upon you. It is possible he may have spoke of my Lord Lieutenant's Letters and yet not to that sense it is applied, for he had no need of it.

I beseech yr Ladis^p to present my humble duty to my Lord Lieutenant who I hope will pardon me that I doe not write to him this Post, having written largely enough the last to show his Excel^{cie} the state of our affaires. I shall now only beg yr Ladis^p to beleieve that I am with the greatest Sincerity Madam Yr Ladis^{ps} most

Obedient and most devoted Servant

CONWAY.

IV.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

4 May 1675 London

May it please Yr Excellency,

Since my last Trear by ye extraordinary means of his friends and by ye most unparliamentary means imaginable, is got off his impeachment, and to show Essex ye Truth of this affaire, and how far ye interest of ye man is firm, that is what ye Court desires. This day ye House voted without almost a negative that four hundred and fifty thousand pounds per annum out of Customs should be applied towards ye navy so that ye Court beginns to despair of mony, and if so, Treasurer is lost, for I hear that King wonders that Treasurer should gett so many voices for himself and none for King. Secretary Coventry is well satisfied with Essex, and I dare say perfectly his friend which I am glad with all my soule and W. Harbord will keepe all faire to Essex if he can and endeavor to get King his Kindnesse made effectual to him. No man can make as yet any judgment of affairs as they now stand but I am apt to believe that Treasurer will sink under ye burthen of his place . . .

V.—LORD CONWAY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

May 4 1675

In my last to yr Excel^{de} of the 27th past I gave your Excel^{ce} some account of the measures we walke by: without that, it would be hard for you to imagine what should be the cause of these great heats in the House of Lords about passing the Test in wch nothing is gained but by inches, and every line contested till 10 a'clock at night, the weaker party every day entering their protests, *Duke* and *Papists* divided and *Papists* and *Presbyterians* united. For *Duke* sees a necessity of using other hands and will be the first that shall take the Test.¹

That *King* and *Parliament* agree well yr Excel^{ce} need not doubt for ye recess was only to get money and that is so well distributed that we hear no more complaints of *ill management* or fears of *papists* but all is now for union and healing.

Treasurer will be too hard for his *enemies*, therefore I hope Essex will preserve his friendship with him. In the beginning of his *Impeachment* he had a Letter sent to him without any name to subscribe it, that if he would let Hallifax² in the place of Essex it should be all quasht, but he made no such composition.

VI.—FRANCIS LORD AUNGIER³ TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.London : May ye 11th 1675May it please yr Ex^{cy}

. . . Yesterday the Howse being resolved into a Committee of the whole Howse to debate upon his Maties answere to Adresse for the recalling of his Maties subjects in ye service of the French King, and the question being putt for the adjournment of the Debate to this morning, it so fell out that upon the division of the Com^{tee} the numbers were equall, And some professing with greate zeale and

¹ Though it was forced through the House of Lords, the measure failed to pass the Commons, and James was not "the first to take the Test."

² George Saville, Viscount (afterwards Marquis) Halifax.

³ Afterwards Viscount Longford, and created Earl of Longford in 1677.

earnestnesse that we should be told over againe upon an observation made that one of ye members had beene told twice, the Contrary teller being obstinate and refusing to joyne with his Colleague in the telling us over againe, severall of ye members moved out of their seats and gathered about ye table, where in some passion they shoved one another, wch the Speaker¹ observing he with greate dexterity and nimbleness gott into the Chaire, and by this provident care of his, prevented further progress of our disorder, though there had very unkind words, looks, and actions been exchang'd by some of ye members; who by order of the Howse were commanded to lay aside all kind of repitition of their disorder, every one in his place rising up with his hat of to show his submission to ye sayd order wch to avoid a future Reproach to posterity was not entered in ye Journall. This day we have been much calmer though we resumed the same debate; For after some howers debate the question was stated whether an Adresse should be made to his Ma^{tie} for recalling all his subjects now in ye service of the French King, some exception was taken to ye word All because yt would engage His Ma^{tie} in too greate a difficultye, there being no colour for recalling any other than those who have gone over as recruits since ye late treatye of Peace with the Dutch and since his Maties Proclamation,² and ye rather since the Ministers of ye King of Spain and ye Dutch who managed ye Treaty did not insist to have those recalled wch were there in ye actuale service of ye King of France, but desired only yt there should be a restraint for any forces going over for ye future; The Question therefore being putt whether the word all should be part of ye Question, upon ye division the numbers were again equall, so ye Speaker turned ye scale, And our Adresse now will be more gratefull to his Ma^{tie} because there is a latitude left for keeping his first word with ye King of France, And by Mr Secretary Coventry it was intimated to us that his Ma^{tie} would grant us ye (reply) tomorrow.

¹ Sir Edward Seymour, Speaker and Privy Councillor, 1673, when again elected Speaker in 1679 he was rejected by Charles.

² The Proclamation commanding "immediate return of all subjects who have gone into the service of the French King, soldiers, &c," is dated May. See *D.S.P.* 1675, p. 126.

My Lord Lauderdale is like to be upon ye stage again, Tho tis believed he will find no greater favour than formerlye in ye Howse of Commons, by wch he has not yett seemed much dismayed having in no sort changed his manner of living and deportment at Courte.

VII.—LORD CONWAY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

London 11 May 1675

May it please Yr Excel^{ce}

I write this to enclose my Lord Treasurer's Letter to yr Excel^{ce} wch he hath promised to send to me, to give yr Excel^{ce} full assurance of the false report wch was writ to you, about his laying the Instructions to have been procured at yr desire.

I went to him today and asked him whether he had not already writ, and he said no, then I begd him to write though it were but six lines, and told him I heard *Ormond* had writ the same thing to *Arran* and I was confident they had contrived it so, to send it by severall hands to make a difference betweene you. Truly, says he, 'tis very pretty *Arlington* and *Ormond* endeavor there to make him jealous of me, who have served him with the greatest fidelity in the world, and heere they are endeavoring to possess *Parliament* that he is the only man hath *sent Forces into France*. I told him we were very much governed by news and reports in that country, and they had spread it that *Treasurer* was run downe, and *Arlington* and *Ormond* governed all, why says he *Conway* is able to informe him how those things stand; I told him *Conway* had not been wanting in that, but if a multitude, and probably some neare relations sayd otherwise how could *Conway* expect to be believed. Why, says he, *Conway* will sone be justified by the Confession of his adversaries, and if I may judge either by what he tells me or by what I see he is certainly *ye greatest subject* that is in *England*.

This morning my Lady Northumberland¹ sent me my Lady

¹ Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk and wife of Algernon, 10th Earl of Northumberland, or Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Southampton and widow of Joceline, 11th Earl, who died 1670.

Essex's Letter to her of the 4th instant. I shewed it to *Treasurer* though there was one harsh word in it of being made a Pack horse to beare the falts of others, It made him laugh, and I told him I shewed it him purposely that he might see how his Adversarys and yo^{rs} did worke (for I always tell him you are both upon one bottome) to make division between you . . .

I doubt not but yr Excel^{ce} will heare from others of the Debate that was yesterday and to day in the House of Commons about the King's Answer to the Recalling of his subjects in the French Service. If Mr Speaker had not shewed an unparalleledd adresse in reassuming the House wch was then in a Grand Comitee, they had certainly fought it out with their swords, and never parted till the guards from Whitehall had parted them. The difference arose about telling the Howse upon the Question, wch was certainly 135 on each side, and both partyes thinking themselves wronged in the reckning cald one-another all the opprobrious names imaginable, spit in one-anothers faces, puld of one-anothers Perriwiggs, and were drawing their swords, but the Speaker, who was at the lower end of the Howse foresaw what it would come to, and made up to the Chaire wch in a minutes time had been impossible for him to doe. The same Debate being this day in a full House was carried according to the King's desire by one Voice 172 on one side and 173 on the other side the Speakers voyce not included. So that the King is now only to recall out of the French service such of his subjects as he thinks fit.

.

I asked *Treasurer* how long *Parliament* would sitt, he told me till they had a *bill of religion past*.

I shall only beg yr Excel^{ce} to present my humble duty to my Lady Essex and be pleased to tell Sir Arthur Forbesse¹ that if my life lay on it I cannot write to him yet.

¹ Marshal of the army in Ireland, created Viscount Granard August 1675 and Earl of Granard in 1684.

VIII.—THE EARL OF DANBY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

[Lord Conway's letter enclosed the following letter from Danby dated May 11. In this he apologizes for not having written, on the score of his time having been so taken up, and complains that the malice of his enemies has reached Ireland.]

I have not yett time to unfold att large all those transactions wch are necessary for yr Excellency to know, and wch I intend to write in a particular narrative for yr information (I mean those things wch relate to Ireland singly) but I resolved to take this first minute of leasure to give itt you under my hand, that if anything may have been represented to yr Excellency concerning those instructions of 29th July : 74 : as Instructions that I received from yr Excellency; itt is utterly false that I ever made any such pretence, either in Councell or elsewhere, but I did owne in Councell, that both by divers letters from yr Excellency, and severall complaints from my Ld Ranelagh, I had been informed of ye great prejudice to his Ma^{ty} both in ye giving away money and Quitt rents by Letters obtained without due examination, and that yr Excellency had severall times desired that some course might be taken for preventing of itt. I did further say that I had received from yr Excellency a letter acknowledging ye receipt of those Instructions wch yr Excellency did approve as very conducing to hinder those many irregular grants wch are not otherwise to bee resisted; and for the Instructions themselves, my Lord Ranelagh doth owne ye drawing of them, and by ye copy of those former instructions to ye Lds Lieutenants wch were brought over by my Lord Conway, they appeare to bee agreable to those ancient formes, and by what appears of defalcacons due to my Lord Ranelagh upon letters obtained before those Instructions, itt will bee found that they have been of vast advantage in saving the King's treasure.

I am sorry I have not time to inlarge more upon this subject, but I hope this may arme yr Excellency ag^t the practices of yr Enemies as well as mine in this matter who would first divide us and then destroy both; and having done their worst to mee, would now wound yr Excellency if they could by making you privy and

instrumentall to ye recruiting the forces in France¹: As I doubt not but all this will vanish so I assure yr Excellency I am not less firme either in my owne services to yr Excellency or in ye representing yr enemies as well as my owne to his Ma^{tie}; and within a Post or two yr Excellency shall find I have done itt with considerable effect to yr securing of ye power where you are; I meane by prevailing with his Mat^{ie} to make those about you depend more immediately upon yr Excellency than yett they doe. I hope yr Excellency will pardon this abrupt letter wch is so merely for want of time, wch will only give mee leave to subscribe myselfe, &c.

IX.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

May ye 13th 1675.

May it please yr Excellency :

I receaved yrs of ye 4th² instant and I hope my last will sufficiently assure you how well S: *Coventry is satisfied with Essex his proceedings and how faithfully he is his friend and so is Arlington and I hope that Essex will finde himselfe settled on his old footing; In order to it I was this day with King and really I never found him kinder to Essex than this day, though I confesse there is no great hold to be taken of what he says; he told me that he would readily receive ye bookes³ and would give such order in't as was fitting. I heartily wish Essex here that he might judge here of affairs or that he would send over some person to defend us. I never as yet met with such heates in Parliament . . .*

X.—THE EARL OF ARLINGTON TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

May 13, 1675.

[A brief note in which Essex is congratulated upon Capel's and Harbord's management of his affairs at Court, the Earl adds:—]

¹ See ESSEX PAPERS, vol. I, p. 304. This recruiting was done repeatedly by the King's sanction and with the connivance of Essex, whose ingenuity in concealing it, is shown in his reply to Ranelagh's letter of Feb. 20th, 1675, dated March 10th, 1675. See *Essex's Letters*, p. 97.

² In which Essex desires a reply to his letters about the Instructions.

³ Books of the disposition of lands in Ireland by the Court of Claims.

And without flattery to them or you they cannot be handled soe properly by any body else. I doe not say this to exempt mysele from taking my part too if there bee neede, but to insinuate to you that you will walke better upon your owne leggs than upon any borrowed ones how sufficient so ever they may seem to be . .

XI.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

London 15th May 1675

May it please yr Excellency.

. . . On Wednesday last I had a *good opportunity to discourse with King* touching the affairs of Ireland in generall . . .

I also had a long discourse with him about the late Instructions and as my owne *opinion and judgement I demonstrated to him how much safer and better it was for him to have all matters relating to Ireland referred to Essex* or ye Chief Governour for ye time being as not only the propper and responsible *officer but in all probabilitie* he must of necessity be the person the most able and *fitt being upon ye place* and daily conversant in the *affairs* of that kingdom both with ye *Kings Judges and learned Councillors*. And whereas *Sec Coventry had taken great exception that he was not made acquainted with the said instructions, Certainly Essex had much more reason to complain, Essex not having even seen or heard of them till they were delivered to him by Ranelagh on the 11th of August last with an intimation that they should be kept private; however that Essex had very diligently observed King's pleasure therein contained; finding him in good humour, and not any ways diverted by business or other thoughts I tooke that opportunitie of doing Essex right.* What effect it had I cannot tell, but *I hear from a very good hand that King discussing since with Arlington severall persons present said that Arlington never told him a lye. I finde that the eclaircissement¹ that hath passed between Essex and Coventry upon the point of the instruction hath had 2 effects, the first that it hath given all the satisfaction imaginable to Coventry and a great alarme to Treasurer,*

¹ Word undeciphered. Probably Aldworth found it illegible, the above is submitted with some doubt.—ED.

inflamed and *promoted extreamly* by Ranelagh, and Conway in order to the *estranging* Sir H. Capell and Harbord from Treasurer, and I hear that Treasurer hath writt Essex last post¹ and filled his letter with great excuses and assurances of his constant friendship to Essex and that he should ere long find the effects of it. What he meanes by this latter clause I cannot imagine unlesse it be the assuring you of the thirteen thousand pounds; I have not this from Treasurer and Essex can ——— if my information be true. I think there is already enough done to vindicate Essex to the world as to what was said in Councell about these Instructions, but if Essex be of another opinion I will strictly observe yr commands int; I confesse I am still of the same minde and I told King the other day that Essex humbly ———² King that as hitherto he had donne so that he would give him leave wholly to depend upon his protection and care, that Essex was willing and ready to obey any of King's Commands signified by any of his ministers, but that he hoped that King would preserve him against all factions and parties, the hopes whereof had not only supported him but encouraged him to act most readily what Essex thought on all occasions best for Kings service. I found this discourse extreamly gratefull to King, and though I am well assured that Sunderland hath a promise to succeed Essex and that he daily labours to hasten his returne; yet if King be well followed and that Essex keepe faire with all sides I hope he will not be easily removed.

Ranelagh did endeavour to have gotten into the House by the favour and help of Lady Northumberland upon the death of Mr. Clarke³ and Conway laboured Mr Gee⁴ hard in't, Speaker endeavouring by his Authoritie to have put the writt into Ranelagh's hands; but some of our members pressed him so hard in't that Gee hath gotten the writ and will carry it. He is engaged in all the dangerous designes and will in time ruine himselfe and all his friends that embarke with him. There is fallen out a very unfortunate dispute between the Houses

¹ See Letter VIII.

² Word omitted.

³ M.P. for Cockermouth. Died May 6.

⁴ Essex had written to Mr Orlando Gee in Jan. 30 sending him a cipher. see *Essex's Letters* p. 27. Mr, afterwards Sir, Orlando Gee was Registrar of the Court of Admiralty in 1660.

arising upon an Apeale mayd by one Dr Shirley¹ against Sir John Fagg² a member of our House; Sir John being served by an order of Summons from the House of Lords was very willing to have obeyed it, and desired the leave of the House accordingly; The House would not consent, but directed Shirley to be taken into custody by our Sergeant; he employd a deputy who by virtue of an order signed by ye Speaker; very indiscreetly seized on Shirley at ye Hs door wch created some disturbance and Shirley refusing to goe along with him my Ld Moore³ coming then by and asking by what authority he seized on him in that place; the Sergeants deputy showed him ye order of ye House for it wch my Lord carried away with him into ye Lords' House refusing to restore it; Our officer came presently down and made his complaint; whereupon a second warrant was directed for apprehending of him; and a message sent up to ye Lords to complain against my Ld Moore, and to desire justice against him; This morning ye Lds sent us a message and ye original warrant desiring to know whether the House did issue yt warrant to have been granted by their Authority and Direction; wch occasiond great discontent. I left them in a debate what resolution to take at 2 aclock, but I fear it may be of ill consequence Tis said that it is a Contrivance to brake us. King I am told just now seemes much troubled at it. Things in my opinion looke ill.

This is all at last from, *etc.*

XII.—SIR HENRY CAPEL TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

May 18. 1675

[This is a long letter with two enclosures, viz., an anonymous communication about the Instructions, and another letter from Capel about the Duke of Ormond's attitude. The first letter deals with William Harbord's services. Instigated by Conway and others

¹ Thomas Shirley or Sherley, physician in ordinary to Charles II.

² Sir John Fagge, created a baronet by Charles II, 1660, then member for Steyning in Sussex.

³ Henry 3rd Viscount Moore, created Earl of Drogheda in 1661.

Essex had begun to distrust Harbord, and to fear that he was embroiling him with factions. Sir Henry Capel defends Harbord. A P.S. to the letter thus alludes to the anonymous communication :—]

36¹ Had this left at his lodging ye other day, Directed by an out-cover to him, in a hand unknowne to him subscribed by noe body, nor no date, he gave me leave to make a Coppy of it for wch I think you may doe well to give him thanks and wee both wish it may be of Service to you.

XIII.—COPY OF ANONYMOUS LETTER.

The private instructions wch were writt to ye Ld Lieutenant of Ireland and wch were over written by ye King and under written by ye Lord Treasurer were doubtlesse the contrivance of ye Lord Treasurer, ye Ld Ranelagh,² and the Ld Conway, and if the originall of those instructions wch are now in the Ld Lieutenant's hands were looked into (but a coppy of them will not show it) I am told that their will be found an instruction thrust in betweene the rest with a much smaller hand than the other instruction wch gives a shrewd suspicion yt yt instruction was added after ye King had signed the rest, and was never showed to ye King and yt rather because it was of some importance.

[For these Rules and Instructions *see* p. 36-37.—Ed.]

XIV.—MR. SECRETARY COVENTRY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

May 18. 1675

Upon Parliament's affairs . . . your owne judgment is so much better than myne yt I will not at all venture to prognosticate; only a man subject to the Spleene, as I am, may I hope have the privilege of being melancholy, and whether it bee my Complexion or my reason result it, I am sure I am so. For I confesse I talke

¹ Probably Arlington. The number is somewhat doubtful.

² This statement appears to have been correct in the case of Ranelagh who acknowledged the authorship.

now in Parliament as men fence in the darke, speak what I think and meane well, but very uncertain whether I do good or hurt by it . . .

XV.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

28 May. 1675 London.

May it please yr Excellencie,

I gave you an answer by my last to all yr former letters, *and an account of ye great unquiet Treasurer was in least his enemies should have done ill offices between you.* I find plainly that *Ranelagh endeavours to have both Essex and Treasurer in his hands and yt Treasurer is a great deale in his power. Trea. hath undertaken with King to help him to money this Session; and Speaker is of ye party, but yesterday by a vote of ye House no new bills are to be brought in and consequently no money; and I fear King his expectations will not be answered by Trea.,* however I would have, and *humbly advise Essex to keep fair with him, and with all men whom King thinks fitt to employ in great posts greatly to preserve himself in his own station. Ye difference between ye Houses is likely to increase whose Sergeant this day ill-used one of our witnesses and I hear that all these disorders have been contrived by him and his Agents fearing lest King should not stand to him.*

Your Excellency will herewith receive a memoriall issued to my Lord Trea. in answer to severall of those things you were pleased to desire his Directions in, and though Ranelagh is great with (him?) I have gotten these dispatches.

If you knew how great a clamour Castlehaven¹ made and *how readily Trea. and Ranelagh putt it upon Essex, and how uneasy King was at it, I am sure Essex would not think it a disservice and so was Holmes²: I confesse I ought not to doe ye least thing without Essex his leave but the haste of matters here doth so way, that it is impossible for me to make Essex so many enemies for want of that method wch I confesse in strictnesse I ought to observe, but Sir H.*

¹ James Touchet, Earl of Castlehaven.

² Sir Robert Holmes.

Capell and Charles Harbord¹ are equally to blame with me if Essex shall think it a fault for I ever advise with them and if Essex think fitt to trust and believe me I will endeavour to serve him more faithfully.²

There is come over this day a good story by a letter to ye Duke of Monmouth of a terrible quarrell wch happened between his Regiment of English and ye Regiment of Picardy, upon the march towards Alsatia in wch many were slaine; about 30 French Officers and 300 French foote and about 8 or 10 English Officers and some saye 50 English foote, some say one, some say two hundred English foot; *Mr Cook sayes at least five hundred of a side. Sec. Coventry hath no notice of it, but in regard Monmouth's letter mentions ye names of ye Officers slaine, ye time and place, it passeth for currant.*

Here is also another story of a French shippe that refused to strike saile to one of our Frigates in ye Downs ye last weeke, this is endeavoured to be kept private but I fear its too true.

Things cannot hold long at this rate and let them propose what they will I believe King will leave them all . . . I would have Essex write to Treasurer very kindly and refer much to Sir H. Capell and W. Harbord of ye matters of fact or particulars that so Trea. may not shew any thing under his hand.

I find Farmers extreamly troubled that Essex is offended with them. I feare Ranelagh is very industrious to promote it in order to his owne gaine.

XVI.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

May 22. 1675

Trear drives so furiously that it cannot last. Baron Turner³ is dead and he hath brought into his place one Bartie⁴ a man of no parts, witt, Learning, practice, nor good name and Essex cannot imagine

¹ His father Sir C. Harbord.

² This is an allusion to a severe letter from Essex dated April 27, 1675, in which he expressed dissatisfaction with Harbord's conduct.

³ Sir Edward Turnor, Lord Chief Baron of Exchequer, 1670.

⁴ Vere Bertie appointed a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, related to Lady Danby. He was discharged from office 1679, Ob. 1680.

how ye whole body of *Lawyers are concerned at it as well as all good and sober men*. I cannot but wonder at the *measures Treas* takes and it is most (evident) *yt he depends only upon a vote of our House hoping to gett money by a Trick wch I believe will faile him*, and that so *he will not last long*.

Lodderdale finding that *Trear had not stuck to him hath served him and Keeper as good a trick*; it was on Friday last *at ye Cabinett Councill there was a great dispute whether money should be pressed for this session*. *Trear and Keeper*¹ *were for it* *Lodderdale and Coventry against it*, and the debate grew warm; *Lodderdale hath been so kind to Treasurer and Essex*² *as to reveale this again and tis in every members mouth*. However in expectation and hopes of it *Trear carries all before him and spares no man*.

XVII.—VISCOUNT RANELAGH TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

May 22. 1675.

I hope yr Excy hath ere this received from my Lord Treasurer's owne hand full satisfaction as to what passed here in relation to the rules for Ireland; the drawing and designing of wch was never layd att yr Excys doore. For I have, and not without some pride, publicly and privately owned I both penned and advised them; and I never yett heard any one exception made against them; what the Secretaries quarreled att was my Lord Treasurer countersigning them; and that they were not entered in their offices. For the first I think it will be undeniably allowed, that the Lord Treasurer of England may without consulting the King, send directions as to our Revenue, as well as that of England; and if soe, doubtlesse his Maties signing them doth neither make the directions lesse authentique nor more irregular; as to the latter I suppose the entry of them with the Secretaries would have totally defeated the use and intention of them.

¹ Heneage Finch, created Lord Keeper of the Seals 1673, Earl of Nottingham 1681.

² So deciphered but evidently a mistake for Lord Keeper, 38 being written for 83, Keeper's number.

XVIII.—FRANCIS GODOLPHIN¹ TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.London May 29th 75.

My Lord

This is to acquaint yr Ex^{cy} that I arrived here yesterday timely enough to acquit myselfe of your Ex^{cies} commands to Mr Secr: Coventry who enjoyned mee (ye King not being in ye house) to goe immediately to my Lord Trear, his Lordship being at ye Parl: did mee ye favour to come to ye door of ye House, where he read yr Ex^{cys} lre, and ordered mee to attend him at 9 a clock to morrow night to discourse those points to which yr lre referred, and made great professions of service to yr Ex^{cy}; At my return to Whitehall Mr Secr: Coventry carried mee to ye King; His Mat^{ie} read yr Ex^{cys} lre over very attentively and told mee hee was sensible that it would bee very much for his service to have yr Excellency here whilst those matters were transacting, that any one of those particulars were sufficient to induce him to send for you wch hee should not know how to settle without seeing you, and turning to Mr. Sec. Coventry, told him he would give him order in it very speedily but withal that hee would speake to my Lord Trear: his Mat^{ie} likewise seemed to approve of my Lord Ch: and Sir Arthur fforbes for justices at Mr Coventry's recomendacion. I hope to give yr Ex^{cy} some account of my Lord Trears inclinations by ye next . . .

Ye proceedings of Parl: have related wholly to ye differences between ye 2 houses this last week. Ye House of Commons passed a vote yesterday that there laye no appeal to ye Lords House from any Court of Equity, but onley by writ of errour at Common law. . .

XIX.—THE EARL OF DANBY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

London 1st June 1675

My Lord.

I acknowledge ye great honour and favour of yr Excellency's letter by Mr Godolphin, and concurre with you yt itt would be of

¹ One of Essex's secretaries who died a few months later, in August. See ESSEX PAPERS, vol. 1, p. 45.

great use to have yr Excellency here to conferr with his Mat^{tie} upon those important matters mentioned therein. I have nothing to object agt itt, if yr Excellency have not; but on ye contrary as I believe his Mat^{tie} will receive advantage by itt, so I should take itt for an happy occasion to give yr Excellency a confirmation of my readinesse to pay you all manner of service and respect. Yr Excellency is so well knowing to ye present Constitution of our Court, that no body can give you better measures of itt than yr Excellency is able to give yr selfe, and though itt bee very difficult to steere amongst so many rocks of faction, without striking upon some; I doubt not but yr Excellency by yr great prudence may bee soe happy as to do itt.

The news of yr Excellencie's intentions to come for England arrived here two or three days before Mr Godolphin, and I have heard that some who hope in time to bee yr successors were glad of itt, but I conceive yr Excellency is so well assured of all our services to you, how little so ever wee afford of good ones to one another, that you can bee in no danger of that kind, although in a matter so nice as this yr Excellency must needs bee ye best Judge. I believe ye Parliament is like to sitt longer than was expected for ye differences between ye houses are so widened, and yett itt is so necessary they should come to some composure before they part that itt looks as if their sitting would yett bee of a month's continuance at least.

The King has directed me to attend him tomorrow about the matters of yr Excellencie's last letter¹ and I shall not bee wanting to acquainte you with his Mat^{ties} pleasure so soon as I know itt, and in ye meane time I desire yr Excellency will continue to mee ye happinesse of being esteemed

My Lord

Your Excellencie's most faithfull and most
humble servant

DANBY.

¹ To the King, dated May 22, 1675. *Essex's Letters*, p. 225.

XX.—FRANCIS GODOLPHIN TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

London June 1st 75.

My Lord

. . . There is some very infectious sickness at ye Bath wch makes my Lord Trear, and every body else put off all thought of going thither this summer¹; 'tis not yet known when ye Parl: will rise. Ye King sat in ye house last night till 12 aclock where they finisht ye bill of tests making it penal in 500 lbs and losse of office to ye refusers; Ye H of Commons this day sent Sir John fflagge,² a member of their owne to ye Tower, for waiving his privilege in a suit upon an appeal to ye H of Lords and committed 4 of ye Council that pleaded, to ye custody of their Sergeant at Arms; Ye Parliament sitting is ye onely thing retards his Maties removal to Windsor. Essex House will be built into tenements; for either ye Act will not passe to restrain building, or there will be a proviso for all buildings that are already on foot . . .

XXI.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

June 5. 1675.

May it please yr Excellency.

. . . I read yt part of yr Letter to my Ld Trear the next morning wch yr Excellency was pleased to command me acknowledging ye having received his of ye 18th. *And as I was reading those lines to him he put his head on a sudden so neare the letter that I was surprised at it,* a trick I never saw any body use but Treasurer and Ranelagh . . .

I finde by S: *Coventry that Essex will not receive this night any certaine resolution from King either as to ye coming over or in what hands King will putt sword in yr absence,* and it is most plaine ye King hath been tampered with, but I am more than ordinarily assured that Duke intends to doe some great thing for Speaker and though I dare venture my head that all they can do can not make

¹ This proved to be a false alarm.² Sir John Fagge, *see* p. 16.

King doe a hard or unkinde thing to Essex Yet its so apparent by Speaker his carriage and readinesse to inflame ye differences between ye houses, Duke doing the same above, that they understand one another.

XXII.—FRANCIS LORD AUNGIER TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Lond June 5 1675

My Lord,

The scene being much altered in ye difference between both Houses since my last, I presume to give yr Ex^{cy} this short narrative of it. On Tuesday last the House of Commons ordered their Sergeant to take into Custodye Sir Jo: Churchill,¹ Mr Serg^t Pemberton,² Mr Serg^t Pecke³ and Mr Charles Porter,⁴ as persons who had infringed the Priviledges of ye House by appearing at the Lords' Barre in a case wherein Mr. Dalmahoy (a member of ye House) was concerned. And to the intent that they might be ye easier had, Mr Speaker invited them to dinner and after they had made good cheere gave them very good advice to obviate and prevent any further disputes between both Houses, wch they then seemed to complye withe, But our Serg^t letting them have their liberty upon parroll they were the next day sent for by ye Lords and att their barre interrogated in all particulars concerning their committment, and had thereafter given them the protection of ye House. The same day ye Lords sent a message to us bye my Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and my Lo: Chiefe Baron for a present Conference upon matters of high importance wherein his Mat^{ties} honour and ye safety of ye Kingdom was concerned, and the Houses agreeing to ye present Conference the inclosed paper was read with a very audible voice by my Lord Privy Seale. On Thursday the House sent their Sergeant to ye tower for neglect

¹ John Churchill, Knighted in 1670, then member for Dorchester, subsequently for Newton, I. of W., and Bristol, Master of the Rolls 1685.

² Francis Pemberton, afterwards Knighted Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench 1679.

³ Edward Peck, constituted Serjeant-at-law March 29, 1675. Home Office, Warrant Book I. p. 51.

⁴ Counsel with Pemberton for creditors of the Navy, *Pepys*, p. 503.

of his duty in suffering his prisoners to escape and ordered Mr Secretary in their name to beseech his Matie that wee might have another Sergeant appointed to attend them, and accordingly my Lord Chamberlaine appoynted one Topham a very stout fellow to attend ye House.

Yesterday morning as Mr Speaker was coming through Westminster Hall to ye House he mett Mr Sergt Pemberton whom he commanded his officers then attending to apprehend and secure in ye Speaker's Chamber, of wch he gave ye House an acct as soone as they sate, and received the thanks of ye House for his zeale and care in thus asserting their previledges, and the House being then alsoe informed that Sir John Churchill Mr Sergt Peeke and Mr. Charley Porter were belowe in ye Hall, they commanded instantly their Sergt to carry his men with him downe into ye Hall and to apprehend ye sayd persons though they were pleading at ye Barres of any of ye Courtes, and to goe well attended that he might not receive an affront from ye Black-Rodde whom (*sic*) they understood was in ye Court of Requests armed with an order from ye House of Lords to rescue the Prisoners. This order of the House of Commons was very briskly executed the said persons being taken from ye severall Barrs of ye Chancery, King's bench and Common Pleas, and brought safe into ye Speakers Chamber without opposition. But ye House of Lords being informed of these proceedings they immediately order their Black Rodde to fetch out ye sayd prisoners wherever they should find them committed; they likewise order their black Rod to apprehend ye Sergeant of ye House of Commons, and addresse to his Matie by word of ye white-staves that another Sergeant might be appoynted to attend ye House of Com^{ms}.

The House of Com^{ms} after a long debate vote the said persons to be sent to ye Tower and Sir John Robinson Sergt of ye Tower¹ being then in ye House had directions not to sett them at liberty without an order from ye House.

By this time it was twoe of ye clock and ye House of Lords

¹ Sir John Robinson, created a baronet by Charles II. had been Lord Mayor of London in 1662.

had adjourned for an hour or two whose example in yt particular ye House of Commons thought fitt to follow, And while ye Speaker was at dinner the Sergeant hired three coaches at Westminster Hall Gate pretending to carrye his prisoners through ye Citty to ye tower, being then informed that ye black rod lay in waite for him in a house neare ye Pallace Yard gate, But he went discreetlyer to worke, for he carryed his prisoners through Sir John Cotton's house and tooke bote at his garden stairs and by water delivered them safe into Sir John Robinson's hands, to whom in three minutes the black-rod came to demand the Prisoners, but the Lieut. positively refused to deliver them. As soone as the House mett they agreed upon the enclosed Reasons in answeere to ye Paper delivered ye day before by ye Lords at a Conference and sent up a message for a Conference on ye subject matter of ye late Conference, to wch ye Lords replyed that they would send up an answeere by messengers of their owne. But their black rodd being returned from ye tower and giving them an acct that ye Lieut of ye tower refused to deliver ye Prisoners, they voted a second addresse to his Ma^{tie} by ye white-staves that ye Lieut^{nt} of ye tower should be removed and a new one appoynted in his stead; to wch his Ma^{tie} then answered that he would consider of it and give them an answeere this day by 5 in ye afternoone. When the House of Commons met this morning, they found their Sergent was changed, and while they were debating on it with some warmth Mr Secretary Coventry came in and from his Ma^{tie} told us that it was his Maties pleasure wee should immediately adjourne till 4 of ye clock in ye afternoon, when it was his pleasure we should attend him in ye bankquetting House, and that his Ma^{tie} had sent the same message to ye Lords.

Accordingly we mett when his Matie made us ye enclosed gracious speech after wch the Speaker returning to ye House we voted ye enclosed votes and adjourned ye debate of our Sergeant till Munday morning.

The Lords after mett and the white-staves reporting to their lordships that his Matie had considered of their addresse concerning ye removal of ye Lieut of ye tower, but sawe no reason for it. Upon wch their Lord^{shps} adjourned till Munday. My paper only now

allowes mee roome to beg your Exc^{tyes} pardon for this tedious narrative wch is ye true state of matters of fact betweene both Houses.

I am my Lord

Yr Excy^s most humble servant

FRAN AUNGIER.

XXIII.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

London June 8th 1675.

. . . *There is nothing so apparent as that this* (the dispute between the 2 Houses) *is a contrivance either to incline ye Commons to fly to King and by money to make ye Lords yeeld; or if that faile, then to lett ye Nation see to how little purpose it is to call parliament when there is so great an animosity between ye Houses and yet that the Government must be supported by some means or other wch must be King his care as ye common parent . . .*

XXIV.—HENRY THYNNE¹ TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Whitehall June 8, 75

[The first part of the letter is about the dispute between the two Houses, which delays an answer being sent to Essex as to his coming over.]

I doubt not but yr Ex^{ty} has heard of my Ld Almoner Howards² being made a Cardinall, and of the violence the French Amb^r used to his Holinesse,³ at an audience, by detayning him in his chaire longer than he was willing to have continued there, upon which ye Pope excommunicated him, but the K^s of France, they say approves all his Amb^r has done . . .

¹ 3rd Son of Sir Henry Frederick Thynne of Kempsford.

² Lord Almoner to the Queen.

³ Clement X.

XXV.—LORD RANELAGH TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

June 19. 1675.

[Refers to previous letter of 15 June with statements of accounts, and encloses King's letter.—Ed.]

I doe alsoe here inclosed send to your Ex^{ty} a letter of his Maties written with his owne hand in behalfe of a concern of my Lady Portsmouths, the substance of it I have been acquainted with and must confirm I did in some manner advise itt; for I found some, whom shee had entrusted with this affayre of hers, had to excuse their own carelesnesse, aspersed yr Ex^{ty} and the Court of Exchequer to his Mat^y and to her, as having appeared so partiall to those who were prosecuted for this money; and thereupon angry letters were desyred and designed; wch coming to my knowledge I waited upon her grace and begged her not to believe the information of little busye fellows, for I was sure yr Ex^{ty} would most readily serve her as farre as you could with safety to the King's affayres; and yt the best if not the only way for her to get any good out of this grant was to entrust it to yr Exys management; wch his Mat^y and shee now have done; and wch I am more than a little glad of; because I suppose now she must depend upon your Excys kindnesse shee will be less earnest in promoting another man's pretence to that Government.

[The above letter is followed by a warrant from the King ordering the audit of the accompts of Lord Ranelagh and his partners as farmers of the Revenue of Ireland, according to the directions following :—]¹

First, whereas ye sayd Lord Ranelagh and partners have in their Contract aforesaid covanted and agreed with us to answer and defray all ye expence of yt our Kingdome according to our establishment from ye five and twentyeth of December one thousand six hundred and seventy, untill ye six and twentyeth of December one thousand six hundred and seventy five, ye same not exceeding in any one yeare ye sum of one hundred and seventy one thousand eight hundred forty and thre pounds five shillings

¹ See also *Calendar of Treasury Books*, 1676-79, pp. 1, 2 and passim.

and sixpence, as by our sayd contract may more at large appear; You are to call upon them to deliver in with all convenient speed, an accompt for ye four yeares of their undertaking ending ye 5 and twentyeth of Dec last includeing therein ye three months pay due to our military list ye one and thirtyeth of ye sayd month although not payable till afterwards; In this accompt they are to make themselves debtors to us in ye sum of six hundred eighty seven thousand three hundred seventy three pounds two shillings being what ye expence of our said Kingdome computing at ye aforesaid sum of one hundred seventy one thousand eight hundred forty three pounds five shillings and sixpence per annum. amounts unto for ye said four years.

Thirdly, the warrant continues, as Lord Ranelagh and partners had in the space of 2 years from Dec 25 1675 to furnish a sum of 80 thousand pounds, certain charges they had defrayed should be deducted from that sum or they should be credited with it, also defalcations due to Farmers.

Given at our Court at Whitehall ye 15th day of June 1675 in ye 27th yeare of our Reagne.

(Signed) DANBY.

XXVI.—FRANCIS GODOLPHIN TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

London June 8th 75.

My Lord,

I have received your Ex^{cys} of the 29 past, and was this morning to wait on my Lord Trear and Mr Secr Coventry more for forms sake than out of an hope of knowing ye Kings pleasure concerning your Ex^{cys} journey till ye present contests between ye two houses bee either composed by some expedient or mitigated at least by a Recess, for they cannot continue long on ye terms they now are; My Lord Trear told me to day, he would speak to ye King about ye overtures yr Ex^{cys} made his Mat^{tie} by mee; I am ye lesse sollicitous for a quick issue of this affayr till I receive yr Ex^{cys} further commands in answer to mine of ye 29th of May; I hear my Lord Ranelagh does oppose yr Ex^{cys} coming over by putting jealousies

into my Lady Danby's¹ head wch is said to bee very perceptible of such impressions; these differences between ye houses have in a manner put a stop to all proceedings of this Court, his Ma^{tie} has not yet resolved who shall succeed Sir W^m Lockart² though all agree if necessary it should be speedily determined. My Lord Mordant³ dyed last Saturday; 2 Houses in Paules Churchyard were yesterday casually burnt to ye ground. His Ma^{tie} has writ a letter⁴ to ye Commons for ye building of St. Paules Church, that they forthwith goe in hand with that work according to a late new draught made by Sir Christopher Wren and approved by his Ma^{tie}; they are to build ye Quire first, and propose to make it serviceable in less than two years; there is yet but 30000^{lbs} in bank towards it, beside ye impost upon Coales.

If my Lord Clarendon⁵ carry himselfe well; he is like to get his key again by my Lord Trear's meanes; and ye manner said to bee that ye King shall give ye Queen leave to dispose it as she pleases; I doe not write yr Ex^{cy} ye proceedings in parliament upon supposition that ye journals of both Houses are transmitted to you weekly.

I am my Lord Your Ex^{cy}s, most faithfull and most obedient servant

FFRA GODOLPHIN.

XXVII.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

12 June 1675 London.

May it please yr Excellency.

. . . This afternoon at ye sollicitation of Sec. Coventry, ye Committee for forain affairs was summoned on purpose to give an answer to Essex his proposalls. I had notice of it this morning, and have

¹ Bridget, Daughter of Montague Bertie, Earl of Lindsay, Lord Great Chamberlain of England.

² Sir William Lockhart died in 1675 thus vacating the office of Lord-Justice-Clerk in which he had succeeded his father, Sir James Lockhart. He married a Niece of Cromwell, and was the Protector's Ambassador to France.

³ John Mordaunt, younger son of first Earl of Peterborough, created Baron Mordaunt of Reigate, and Viscount Mordaunt of Avalon.

⁴ See *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, 1675-76, p. 118, for this letter.

⁵ See Letter I.

observed Ranelagh and Conway every morning shut up hours with Trear and had notice that Treasurer carried Conway yesterday to King and that they were shut up one hour together and underhand found by Treasurer his Lady, who hath railed at Essex and W Harbord to severall persons for continuing to bring over Essex in order to his getting Treasurer his staffe, that Ranelagh and Conway were acting some great thing with her Lord, I thought it best to speake to King of Essex his faire intentions of coming over on purpose to serve King, that unlesse King did leave the naming of those who should act in his absence, the world would believe that King did not intend that he should return, and finding him a little better than I did use to observe him I plainly first observed to him the great services Essex had done him there and what great advantages in probability he would receive if Parliament was summoned in Essex his time, and after a long discourse of this kinde; I opened his eyes as to what designes some men might have by removing Essex from that post who never valued what enemies he made so as he could serve King and preserve to King his revenue, mentioning severall particulars of what waste had been committed therein in ye Justices time, Ormond and Berkeley's, and to be short finding him attentive, I left him in good humour, from whence I went to 38¹ and gave him an account of what had passed and desired him to be at the Councill, he was so lame of the gout that he could not be there. I also lookt for Ormond he was gone to Putney, and Sir H. Capell, having no notice of it last night was gone a hunting with Duke, but came back by one a clock. Wee went then to Treasurer and told him that ye report of ye towne was that King intended to send over a Deputy wch would be altogether inconsistent with Essex his design wch was to be here presently and not to stay above 3 weeks or a month. he asked whom ye Towne had pitched upon for Deputy, Sir H. Capell told him roundly it was Conway. I observed him, but in my opinion he was in apearance very civill when Sir H. Capell desired him to be so far yr friend as to persuade King that the Justices might be left to Essex his naming.

The Councill mett, there was present King, Duke, Keeper, Treasurer, Lodderdale, Coventry, Williamson. King was willing to have Essex

¹ Arlington.

come over. Keeper said somewhat seemingly against it, but when it came to ye naming of ye Justices King said that Forbis had complained that it had bin a great charge to him ye last time, Keeper said ye same and so did Treasurer. Sec. Coventry perceiving what was aimed at told King that many men might say so in hopes to get some reward from their Prince, but that it was by no means advisable to lay aside a man first, a man who had already discharged that place well and that was so considerable in ye army and of such parts. Lodderdale falling with him, it was resolved to leave it to Essex, Duke said little till parliament came to be named, and then he opposed that stiffly, but at last Coventry by many arguments and wonderful kindness to Essex carried that also, and sends away a letter this night, I read it just now, Sec. Coventry would not give me any time to advise upon it for feare King might alter his minde. I am extreemly weary, but glad at hart to see men of Tricks faile of their ends.

I did the best I could to serve Essex and am, etc, etc.

XXVIII.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

London 19th June 75.

May it please yr Excellency,

I doubt not but that Essex will hear from many hands this post that Trear hath lost ground with King and that Duke is endeavouring to bring in Shaftesbury and that there is a great party at work against Trear all wch is generally true, and this morning Trear gott King into ye Treasury Chamber all alone for three hours. I was all that time waiting there, the Trear had ordered that none should be admitted. I watched King at his coming out and observed great troubles in his mind wch makes me think that he did not goe away well satisfied, And this night I hear from a great privado of his that he will putt off his journey to Bathe and that Duke did refuse a conference with him yesterday; and was 2 hours alone with Shaftesbury. Northampton¹

¹ James Compton 3rd Earl of Northampton, *see* Letter XXII, p. 26. The Lords had demanded the dismissal of Sir John Robinson, but had been refused at the time.

was declared Constable of the Tower last night wch will I feare much dissatisfie the Commons when they meete . . .

XXIX.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

London 26 June 1675.

May it please your Excellency.

. . . About eleven in ye morning Sec Coventry received packett as King was sitting in Councell opened it and upon ye Councells rising got ye letter signed. Treasurer argued against it and told King that if Parliament was not called in 2 months that King would loose 250 thousand pounds: King said that having discussed with Anglesey about it, he assured him it could not meete under at least six months preparation that soe all things necessary might be fitted for it. Dining with 38¹ and 43² who was also there gave me notice of this. I went presently to Sir H. Capell and with him to Sec Coventry, gave us the same account and that the letter Essex sent was signed, hee being just ready to take horse for Enfield Chase whereof he is Ranger desired us to be quiet and saye nothing; about 8 of ye clock however I went to ye King's bed chamber and there found Keeper, Treasurer, Lodderdale, Conway and Ranelagh and that they had gotten King in a corner and were very busy with him and were speaking about Parliament and Essex; and presently ———³ was sent for but he being out of ye way, Keeper came to me and told me scornfully enough yt King had consented that Essex should come over but that Essex was to bring over such Acts of Grace as Essex thought would gratify ye profits; and that ye Secs being absent I was to act their part and to give you notice of it. I told him that Essex his designe of coming over was only to serve King that your own private (sic) did not require it and yt having done ye duty Essex would readily acquiesce to whatsoever King should thinke fitt and that as to myself I did not pretend to signify King his pleasure to Essex in an affaire of that nature. Thinne coming up accidentally with some papers and forreine Letters, Anglesey came close to him and desired King

¹ Arlington. ² Ormond.

³ Word omitted but Williamson is evidently meant.

to give him instructions to draw a letter upon ye heads they had agreed on should be written to Essex. Keeper seconded him, Treasurer stole from ye Bed-chamber to ye Treasury Chamber and left ye others to follow ye blow, wch they did, into Queen her very drawing room, and I never sawe men so eager in all my life, but finding Thynne either very unwilling or dull to apprehend their meaning and put it in writing though King bid him do it, and told him that ye letter signed in ye morning must not goe: they retired to ye Treasury Chamber and there Anglesey drew ye Letter; and Treasurer having before (sent) for Sec Williamson, who coming tooke ye Letter it self home with him, promised to gett it writt over faire and signed that night.¹ Thynne sent away immediately a Servant to Sec. Coventry, then he Sir H. Capell and W. Harbord went to Williamson. Sir H. Capell by a fair argueing of ye matter left him satisfied that unlesse ye letter you sent were sent back again Essex could not come over; and whilst he was there Treasurer sent his Sollicitor for ye Letter, expecting to have it signed. Secr: Coventry about four in ye morning came back and within an hour Sir H. Capell, and W. Harbord found him nodding at his office. Wee gave him ye best account wee could of ye Letter in Williamson's hands and founde him extreamly ready to serve Essex to ye utmost; and presently after six he went in with his papers, and was admitted and discussed ye thing with King, Williamson was sent for who brought ye other Letter and both ye Secretarys agreeing that Essex could not come over unlesse ye Letter of form were sent back, also that indeed ye other was fitt likewise to be transmitted by way of instructions for Essex to observe if he found them practicable to wch King agreeing they were both ordered to be sent away: This is the story of ye occasion of yt other Letter's sending. I have only omitted one passage wch was that Conway came back out of ye Treasury Chamber and just as King rose from supper he entertained him; I suppose on ye same occasion I cannot say whether this be for ye good I hartly wish it may. I confess I am of opinion that there is a necessitie of yr coming over. I dare assure Essex that Sec. Coventry will be yr best friend; next to him Ormond if he be here will do you some good and no harme, Williamson will also assist you all he dare,

¹ See *Calendar Dom. S. P.* 1675, 1676, p. 180, for both these letters.

for ye rest though Arlington will be as ready as any to serve you, Yet if any party can gett Essex in with them, all but Sec. Coventry will weaken him in his fame and with King who is well pleased to heare that Essex depends wholly on him . . .

XXX.—THE SAME TO THE SAME.

London 3 July 1675.

May it please your Excellency;

I receaved yrs of ye 26th instant and shall not faile as soon as his Maty returns to acquaint him with what directions you have given about Captain Lodon. I wonder my Ld Ossory should send into England for an order for him to transport his Ldp.; when I am sure yr Excellency never refused your favour to any man of his quality and condition in that Kingdome; I will likewise get Mr Aldworth's letter signed as soon as his Maty returns from Portsmouth² which is expected to be on Monday unlesse he be (met) with contrary windes his intentions being to Imbark this night after having dined at Mr Noell's at Titchfield.—[Some news in cipher, which Aldworth has left undeciphered, follows. It appears to be an account of a battle, and the unrest in Brittany,³ where there was a peasant uprising, followed by an allusion to the effect of Essex's proposed visit to England on "Treasurer and his side."—ED.]

The Court is going into mourning upon its arrivall in Windsor for ye Duke of Savoye⁴: I heard yesterday yt Coll: Grace hath by a writt of Error reversed the judgment given against him for forgery &c. I long to hear of yr Excellences safe arrivall in England. This is all at present from, etc., etc.

¹ Essex had written about his coming over in Captain Lodin's, or London's vessel "The Norwich Frigate," and enclosed a Letter on behalf of his Secretary Aldworth.

² For full account of this visit to Portsmouth, see *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1675-76, pp. 183, 191, 195.

³ Ibid, pp. 94, 107, 170, 172, 199, for account of insurrection in Brittany. It was due to new taxation, chiefly through the tobacco monopoly; but other commodities were affected.

⁴ Charles Emanuel II,

XXXI.—THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Dublin July 17. 75.

. . . All things continue, as yr Exc^y left them, peaceable but poore; The Harvest lookes somewhat propitiously upon us if God continue this good weather to us. The Toryes decrease dayly, at least they hide themselves, and however this last yeare hath proved very severe to a great many, especially to ye farmers and to ye meaner sorte of ye people, yet they already begin to hold up their heads and seeme to apprehend no danger of any other future want but that of money; wch indeed is by many considering persons feared to a greate degree if ye french King have rayseed ye outlandish money wch goes with us here at ye rate of 4^s 6^d or 4^s 9 ye piece into six shillings each piece as is very credibly reported amongst us . . .

XXXII.—RULES AND INSTRUCTIONS FOR OUR RIGHT TRUSTY AND RIGHT WELLBELOVED COUSIN AND COUNSELLOR ARTHUR EARL OF ESSEX OUR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOUR OF OUR KINGDOM OF IRELAND.

1.) Our pleasure is, and wee doe Declare that we will Signe no Letters for the granting of any Money or Lands or Releasing or abating any Rents or other summs of money due to us in that our Kingdome of Ireland, but upon a petition presented to us which petition is to be first either recommended by you our Lieutenant or the same is to be transmitted unto you by one of our Principall Secretaries of State and your sense and opinion to be had before any order or Letter be signed thereupon.

2) That afterwards such Petition shall be referred to our High Treasurer of England; who is to be made acquainted with what you Our Lieutenant shall write, either in recommending such Petition, or upon transmission of any such unto you, And our said High Treasurer's Report is to be had thereupon.

3) You shall give no orders upon any Letters for granting money Lands, Releasing or Abating Rents in Ireland, which shall come

from us in any other forme or method or wherein these Rules shall not be observed.

6.) Whensoever there shall be any Letters from Us for disposing of any money to any publick uses, and there shall be other Letters from Us at the same time for the payment of any money to any particular persons, in all such cases the publike Letters shall be obeyed and preferred before the private.

7.) In case our Revenue shall at any time not hold out to pay the whole Establishment the same shall not be applied to the payment of any Pensions untill the rest of the Civill and Military Lists be first payd: And if afterwards the same will not hold out to the payment of all Pensions, a proportionable abatement shall be made out of each of them.

8.) No Letters or Directions from us for the payment of any money shall be directed immediately to the Vice Treasurer of Ireland but to the Chief Governor or Governors for the time being; And no payments made by the Vice Treasurer upon any such Letters or Directions from Us without the Chief Governor's Warrant thereupon shall be allowed upon the Vice Treasurer's accompts.

10) All Letters must have been first entered at the Signet Office here in England before being issued for payment. Whereby the great disorder in procuring Our grant for the same thing to severall persons may and will be prevented.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall the 22nd Day of September 1675 in the seven and twentieth year of our Reigne.

C. R.

XXXIII.—THE MARQUIS OF WORCESTER¹ TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Badminton Dec. the 30th 75.

Dear Brother

It is no small trouble to mee that I should bee now forced to despaire of waiting on you whilst you are on this side the seas,

¹ Henry, son of Edward, 2nd Marquis of Worcester and the famous author of *A Century of Inventions*. Henry had married Mary, Essex's eldest sister. He was created Duke of Beaufort in 1682.

a thing both civility required, and my inclination urged mee the most to in the world.

I comforted myselfe, till now, with the hopes of repairing my omission at London with seeing you at Coventry, but I am now disappointed of that too, by my wife's still continuing so weake, and apt to bee disturbd (to the apparent great prejudice of her health) at the least thought of my shortest absence, and being without hopes till the spring, shee will bee otherwise.

I should if I had waited on you, have desired your opinion in the concerne of your niece Seymoure for whom I thinke it is high time to thinke of a match, and I finde shee expects wee should.

I confesse both my wife and selfe had a great persuasion to have her estate, wch comes from her family, have helped to set it up againe by matching to him that has the tytle, and whom the law makes the head of it,¹ but you cannot imagine the aversnesse shee has to it, and you know shee is of an age not only of consent and dissent but to be sui juris, so that there is nothing to bee done, but with her approbation, My wife has proposed severall, as the Marq of Winchester's sonne,² Lord Aylesbury's³ and all the young men that are either of quality or estate worth considering, but insisted most upon the M. of W's and Ld Aylesbury's, the latter of wch shee seems most inclined to. We are unwilling to begin anything of treaty without having your opinion in it, to wch end I addresse this to you by a messenger of my owne, by whom you may (and we beg you would write your thoughts freely, and also that you would suggest if you can think of any other person more fit, and we will try whether shee can bee brought to it, tho by what I perceive, it will bee extreamly difficult shee having taken a lyking to the young man. If you please also as to my own particular to make use of this opportunity to let mee know whether you have

¹ John Seymour, 4th Duke of Somerset, dying without issue in 1675, was succeeded by his cousin, Francis Seymour, 5th Duke of Somerset, who, in 1678, was shot by Horatio Botti, at the door of his inn, in revenge for an insult to Botti's wife. He died unmarried. See *Burke's Peerage*, Ed. 1854.

² Charles, who became 7th Marquis of Winchester and 2nd Duke of Bolton, married. in 1679, Margaret, daughter of George Lord Coventry.

³ Robert Bruce created Earl of Ailsbury in 1664.

happened upon any with the King now whilst you were in towne, or with any of those that know his mind, to sound where it is, that my affaie wch you told mee, when you went away, my wife had discoursed with you about, and wherein you were pleased so obligingly to offer yr endeavours, sticks, as also how the excuse you made for my absence, when the Parliament sate (wch was groundd upon too much worth) was taken and what construction you found was made of it, as likewise what yr opinion is, as to this Parliament, whether the King will dissolve or continue it, and how you think hee intends to steere. Some of these things I confesse are nice, but I do not doubt, but you have kindnesse and confidence enough in mee to let mee know your thoughts, and I know as no body can form a better judgment, so nobody can have had better opportunitys than yr station and concerns have given you, to get light in these affaires. I only doubt yr time and therfore I have orderd the servant that brings you this, wch I sent up by another I could trust, to stay in towne, and waite yr leisure, and when hee has yr letter, to bring it mee downe himselfe. I desire you would please to communicate that parte of my letter wch relates to yr neece, to my Brother Harry¹ that he may also if hee please, have his thoughts upon it, to whom though I writt last poste I have said nothing concerning it, not thinking fit to mention a thing of that nature in a letter by the poste.

I am Dear Brother

Yr most faithful, humble, sincere and most
affectionate Brother

WORCESTER.

¹ His brother-in-law Henry Howard, son of the Earl of Arundel, who had married his sister Anne.

[Essex was still in London at the beginning of the year 1776.¹ The following letter gives the reason for his detention there.]

XXXIV.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR JOHN TEMPLE.²

London Jan 22 167 $\frac{5}{6}$.

Sir,

I have received yours of the 15. The thing wch stays mee here is to see ye event of this present Farme, wch as yet I look upon to bee uncerteine, notwithstanding they have payd in ye first 30000^d, and yt ye patent is drawne by Mr Atturney, but ye chief thing wch deterrs me is to take care to secure so much money as to answer ye growing pay to ye Army, and that to ye Civill List, and I wish I may bee able to effect it.

There are so many projects on ffoot to employ ye Irish money for uses here, and my Lord Ranelagh for other advantages and aims wch hee hath, is soe instant in promoting it, and is so strongly supported therein by my Lord Treasurer as I very much fear ye streights that poor kingdome will bee brought into may be even insupportable; however I faile not to represent ye truth of things and should any inconvenience or disorder happen I hope at least by being in ye place, I shall acquit myself of ye blame, and ye fault will rest at their doors, who are contrivers of these mischiefs: If you have any imagination yt things doe passe here regularly, and by ye proper Officers you will be much mistaken, and I believe what you saw when in England was sufficient to convince you of ye contrary; I can only endeavor to sett things Right but in noe hopes to fix them soe.

Notwithstanding many attempts have bin severall times used to displace mee, yet they have proved ineffectuall, and I am confident will be soe for a considerable time: This I speak upon good grounds.

¹ For interview with the Farmers on Jan. 7th, see *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. v., pp. 1, 2.

² Father of Sir William Temple, was for many years Master of the Rolls in Ireland. He sided with the Commonwealth, but retained his office at the Restoration, and obtained a reversionary interest in it for his son. He died in 1677.

Sir George Hamilton¹ went abt a month since into Ireland privately to make some Levys there.² I would bee glad if you would give mee notice how that matter proceeds for it would bee convenient those men were shipt before I arrived: This is a secrett and you must not communicate it to any, but pray bee as diligent as you can to informe mee in cypher, yt I may bee coming away . . .

XXXV.—SIR JOHN TEMPLE TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

My Lord

I received lately the honour of your L^{ps} letter of the 22th of the last month, and I am extreame sorry to finde that your business still goes on so slowly, and that wee are not to expect very suddenly to heare of your beginning your journey towards this place, and I am very apt to apprehend that many of the difficultyes you meet with may not bee very easily removd, for I am told by some here that pretend to have good intelligence, that of the 80,000[£] to be advanc'd upon the new farme, it is not design'd that any more should come over hither than onely the first 30000[£] to pay my Lord Ranelagh and his partners that summ due to them from the late farmers (whereof 15,000[£] is now I thinke payd to them here) and that the other 50,000[£] will bee made use of in England, which I know your Ex^{ty} will use all the means you can to prevent, but if you should not be able to prevail therein, I hope you will not thereby bee wholly discourag'd, butt that you may bee able to maintaine the necessary charge of the Kingdome; for your Ex^{ty} will only have the care of paying the establishments from Christmas last, and that the growing Revenue will be sufficient to doe, and if my Lord Ranelagh should not pay all that is due before Christmas, although the army will thereby suffer yett the blame thereof will not lye upon your Ex^{ty}; only if you should be no likelyhood of your bringing over any parte of that mony with you, it may perhaps bee reasonable for your

¹ "That valiant and worthy gentleman Geo. Hamilton, not long after slaine in the warrs."—Evelyn, Nov. 12, 1675.

² A levy of recruits for France. Essex had connived at this in 1675, not without some trouble. See ESSEX PAPERS, p. 304-13, also Letter VII. of this vol.

Ld^e in such case to take some care that this mony that comes in upon the New farme should not bee too fast issued out, before you come hither, butt that good a parte of it bee kept together, to bee payd out, by you, for the Army will have greate expectation of receiving some mony upon your arrivall, and it may be fitter for your Ex^{ty} to have the ordering it to bee payd to them than to have it all issued out before; which although it bee contrary to what I formerly proposed, yett that was writt when I certainly believ'd your Ld^e would have been able to have compass'd the bringing over the rest of the new farmer's advance mony.

That which Your Ex^{ty} writes *concerning the levies for France* I was told before I receivd your letter as a great secrett to bee now the onely occasion of your stay and *that you would not bee suffered to come away till they were made*, and I desird My Lady to acquaint you with it, that you might have enquired into it if you had not heard of it there, for *they are carried on very privately here; all that I can find out is that the Twelf of March is the day sett for their goieng from hence, and I thinke it falls out not ill that Essex is not here whilst this affaire is carried on*. If I shall heare any more of it I shall bee sure to acquaint your Ex^{ty} with it, and shall ever continue etc., etc.

Feb. 5. 1675.¹

XXXVI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE LORD TREASURER.

London March 14th 167⁸

My Lord,

The ffarme of Ireland being concluded and ye patent now drawing, upon which 30,000 will bee payd in to his Majestie and 20000 more to bee payd precisely on ye 8th of May, I conceive it will be highly necessary for his Maj^{ty}s service yt some resolution bee taken how this money shall be disposed of; The next week after this being a weeke of devotion, and his Majestie designing to goe to Newmarkett ye Wednesday in Easter weeke, a place inapt for ye dispatch of businesse, I desire this affair may be determind before his Ma^{tie} leaves ye Towne; I have acquainted ye King

¹ Old style.

herewith, and it is his pleasure it should be soe, for his Ma^{ty} tells me yt I must speedily begin my journey.

All things relating to ye army of Ireland, ye garrisons stores and forts there, are in a most miserable condition;¹ our stock of powder was very low when I lefte ye country, and calculating ye expense wch of course must bee allowed for exercising ye troops and company, and other necessarys since I came away, I believe there is scarcely in ye kingdome at this time 300 barrells of good powder left; For army there are not 500 good musketts in all ye stores, and there is not one company in ye whole army compleatly armed, Their musketts being many of them out of order, and of different bores, and ye pikes half of them broken, or unserviceable; All ye gunns and Field-pieces in ye severall Garrisons generally unmounted, An Estimate hath bin presented to his Ma^{ty} in Councill by ye master of ye ordnance yt ye necessary charges of putting affairs within his office in any reasonable position will amount to 50,000^{lbs} but his Ma^{ty} being in some streights for money, and having great debts upon him on ye conclusion of ye late ffarme in Ireland, and my Ld Ranelagh's undertaking, hath resolved (as yr L^p knows hee declard one day in his Bedchamber before yr selfe and mee) to apply 20000^D² only for ye immediate furnishing of Arms and powder and ye rest wch shall bee necessary must bee made up afterwards as well as wee can: Besides this tis his Ma^{ty}s intention to make use of ye 20000^D reserved to himself on ye Establishment for his buildings at Windsor and it is his pleasure yt all or ye greatest part of this money shall bee payd out of some of ye advance, in regard ye materialls for ye building must bee provided agst ye spring and this may bee supplied agen for any other intended purpose out of ye growing Rents.

As for ye present state of ye army tho my Lord Ranela did in Octobr last assert to ye King in Councill yt their whole growing pay was clearly payd to that day, which included their pay at Lady Day 1675: At Midsummer 1675 (for September pay was not by their contract to bee answered till forty days after Michaelmas) yet

¹ See *Calendar of Treasury Books*, 1676-1679, p. 31.

² Aldworth repeatedly uses D for pounds, rarely ld.

by a L^r from ye new Secretary to ye Lds Justices dated ye 20th of Feb last it doth appear yt ye officers and Trainee of Artillery are not payd one penny of their March pay, nor had they then so much as an assignment for it: As to June pay ye deduction for cloathes amounting to 1998^D is not one penny payd . . .

Neither have I this acc^t of ye wants of ye Army from that single hand only, but my Lord Granarde himself one of ye New Lords Justices, and Field Marshall of Ireland, by his L^r of ye 26 of Feb last assures mee yt ye Army was never in such want since hee knew it. I have also severall times told my Lord Ranela of this, who always excuses himself and lays ye fault upon his partners whereas by law they are all equally obliged and responsible one for ye other . . .

I must also further informe yr Lo^{sp} yt my Lord Ranela having lately petitioned his Ma^{ty} for a L^r to bee discharged of ye 80,000^D payable by his Contract within two years time after ye 25th of December last past, as also for 6000 due to Coll. Lang's daughters and 4000 due for ye Customs of Londonderry both payable before Christmass last; I have made a report thereupon (wch Report together with a draught of a L^r I putt into yr L^{sp}s hands on Fryday . . . And I cannot but wonder yt his L^p should presse to be discharged and released of this 90000^D payable to his Ma^{ty} by his covenants under ye great seale, and for which hee and his partners stand bound, before a full account of ye severall other summs and Debts undertaken by him bee stated by his M^{ty}s Auditor and allowed by his Comm^{rs} of Acc^{ts} for that purpose.

And I doe ye rather acquainte yr L^p with these particulars because on Saturday last sending Mr Aldworth my Secretary to him to discourse with his L^p upon some of these matters. Hee then declar'd to him yt unless hee obtained this L^r of discharge for ye 90000^D Hee would pay no more money in Ireland

Yr L^p who is so great a minister of State cannot but know ye caution wch all men in Employ^{mt} ought to use and yt if any miscarriage happen ye fault is always imputed to ye Minister; This being my owne case I have given my opinion under my hand concerning this 90000 and doe not differ from my Lord Ranelagh

in granting him full and ample releases so soon as matters are stated and reported; but if his Majestie notwithstanding my Report shall yet think fitt to order an immediate Release before hee knows how my Ld Ranelagh hath acquitted himselfe of ye other parts of his undertaking I shall acquiesce and give no further trouble in it save only my wishes yt good advice may bee taken before any orders bee signd thereupon.

I am, etc.

To ye Lord Treasurer.

XXXVII.—THE EARL OF DANBY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.¹

Wallingford House March ye 25th 1676.

My Lord

Perhaps your Excellency may think it unnecessary to trouble you with an answer to yours of ye 14th instant because I have since (viz ye 19th) communicated it to his Matie in ye presence of his Royall Hignesse, Yourself and my Lord Ranelagh, and your excellency did then receive his Maties Pleasure as to all ye matters contained in itt, saving that part wch relates to ye 90000^{lbs}, for which my Lord Ranelagh desires his discharge; and I hope your Excellency will receive your orders in that also before your departure, it being by no means proper for mee to determine till your Excellency have received satisfaction of ye equity of his Demand in that particular.

But because your excellency will remember I then told you I differd in somethings your letter charged my memory withall it may bee convenient for avoiding future mistakes to acquaint your excellency that I remember no greater summe out of ye advance-money for arms than 10,000^{lbs} and I very well remember yt ye 20000^{lbs} for ye Repairs of Windsor was never intended out of ye advance-money, but out of ye 20000 yearly reserved during ye

¹ This letter, with slight verbal alterations is included in *Calendar of Treasury Books*, 1676-1679, pp. 174, 175.

whole Farme to his Maties private dispose and for yt reason it was yt neither my Lord Ossory's nor my Lord Duras's¹ Grants were to take place upon itt ye first Year.

I told your Excellency then also yt I rememberd nothing of your desire to have ye first 30000^{lbs} remitted in specie into Ireland till a good while after ye old Farmers' Privy Seale was pass'd for itt, but that (as it was long before agreed they should have their 20000^{lbs} Defalcations, and 10000^{lbs} for ye Kings use payd out of ye first of ye Advance-money) Your Excellency agreed ye same, and it was my motion y^t for ye quickening their payments to ye Army in Ireland, ye money might remain deposited in ye hands of ye Treasurer of ye Navy though it could bee apply'd to no other use then ye Privy Seale directs; so that although both ye old Farmers and my Lord Ranelagh insisted upon having ye Kings Engagement made good of being payd yt summ out of ye first of the advance, yet there was nothing done in itt, but with your Excellency's consent and approbation.

For ye September and Christmas Pay of ye Army, I know what posture Your Excellency hath said it to bee in and your Excellency has shewd mee Letters to ye same effect out of Ireland, and finding 15,000^{lbs} of ye Michas Pay unpaid about a month or six weeks ago, I remember Your Excellency would then fain have remitted that sum into Ireland out of ye deposited money here, and I would have been as glad of it if it could have been done; but as that was not practicable so your Excellency and my Lord Ranelagh has always differd in ye quantum of what was in arrear for ye Michas Pay, as well as for ye severall Pays due to ye Army before that time and my Ld Ranelagh did then undertake before his Matie to give him a particular account in a short time of what hee agreed to be a true state of ye Present Debt to each troop and Company.

As your Excellency has been very prudent in laying before his Matie ye condition and state of Ireland and (since you were pleased

¹ Duc de Duras, brother of the Earl of Feversham. £3,000 per annum was granted to him from the £20,000 reserved in Ireland. The sum appropriated for Windsor Castle repairs, *Ibid*, p. 137.

to do it through my hands) I hope you will pardon my endeavour to rectify any mistake which might remaine concerning myself in that Representation, who am

Your Excellency's most faithfull
humble servant

DANBY.

XXXVIII.—SIR HENRY CAPEL TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Scotland Yard

May 2nd 76

Dear Brother

I hope this will find you safe at Dublin.

I have mentioned your new project you told me of at Dunstable to *Coll. Talbot*: He immediately books a memoriall of it which hee intends to leave with King and Duke, and to morrow by *Coll Talbot's* advise I am to speak with *Duke* myselfe about it. By the next post I may happen to give you some further account of it. *Coll Talbot* bids me tell you yt their will be writt this post a letter to *Lord Granard* by either *Ranela* or by *Conway* perswading him to write to *Lodderdale* and ingaging him to be of the party in this affaire of the Parliament

I am

Your affec Bro.

H. E. CAPEL.

XXXIX.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ORRERY.

Dublin Castle May 6th 1676

My Lord

Just as I was taking shipping at Holyhead I recd Two of yr L^{ts}, one of ye 27 and ye other of ye 29th of Aprill together with a small paper in cypher, wch truly I have not yet had leisure to decypher, for at sea I was soe sicke as I could not doe it and since I came hither ye perpetuall crowd of visitts hath hindered mee.

As to your own affaire I hope ye Report you have recd gives yr L^p satisfaction for I doe not apprehend but it is as secure to you

by making ye Remainder (if any shall be unpayd out of ye 5000^d) to bee payd out of ye Rents, as if ye whole were payable out of ye Rents: For ye clause mentiond in ye Letter yt yr L^{ds} discharge to ye Farmers may bee sufficient to acquitt them, I conceive it would bee a very dangerous thing for me to confirme any such clause by a Report, for I should thereby alter ye course of ye Exchequer and I desire yr L^p to remember what had like to have befallne my Lord Treasurer upon that score. I did indeed hear while I was at London yt my Lord of Ossory and Lord Duras had gott such clauses in their grants, but nothing in any Report of mine lead to it, and I can assure yr L^p yt so soon as I knew it, their patents being past having some occasion to discourse with my Lord of Ormond I askd him if his son had gott such a clause. Hee told mee hee had, I made answer agen yt it was very well for my Lord of Ossory Hee passt his patent in England, for tho I had a great respect for my Lord of Ossory and a particular desire to serve him, yet had such a direction come into Ireland I would have represented against it and not have past it without a second command; This matter I only communicate to yourself and desire yr L^p will keepe it private, only you may please to finde some means to have my Lord of Ormond askt whether hee remembers not such a discourse between himself and mee: Tho I shall ever bee ready to serve my friend and particularly yr L^p, yet I hope it will not bee taken unkindly if according to ye duty of my place I endeavour to keepe all matters in their proper forme.

I am, etc.

XL.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR HENRY CAPEL.¹

Dublin Castle May 9th 1676

Dear Brother

I have received yrs of ye 2nd of May; I finde by my Intelligence here yt ye same project, wch yr L^{re}² mentions, and we discusst of at Dunstable is really driving on in England, and if they can

¹ See Letter XXXVI.

² Letter.

worke ye King to resolve ye calling of a Parliam^t and consequently place justices viz my Lord of Orrery, Lord Conway and Lord Granarde, they have their ends, and after these Justices are placed they will find ways enough to shift off ye Parlm^t and then in a little time to remove ye Justices, and bring all into my Lord Conway's hands as Deputy; T'were very fit ye King and Duke were now and then minded of this matter yt they may not bee surprisd therein.

I have nothing further to adde, but remaine, etc.

XLI.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

London 27 May 1676

May it please yr Excellency,

I am extremely sorry yt my northern journey prevented me from waiting on yr Excell^{cy} on ye Roade as you adv^t for Ireland; since my returne I have been to wait on my Lord Malden¹ at Cassio-bury and found him in good health, and since my arrival heither have been so ill for 5 or 6 dayes that I could not informe your Ld^{sh} by *Sir Hen. Capell* of ye *state of Essex his affairs* which at last I have donne and given *Mr Harvey* and ye *Kg* best advice I could. The other day at a Hearing I had in Chancery Mr Attorney told me that he had lately received a letter from you about ye taking my Ld Ranelagh and Ptnrs security for ye 24,000^{lbs} that he had spoken to him about it and yt he had promised him 3 or 4 severall times one after another to come himself and to bring his ptnrs to give security accordingly but that he had not donne it. *I dout Dashwood² will not come in, Ranela told Treasurer it was done, Treasurer asking Jones whether it was or not he said no; at which Treasurer shook his head. Its most apparent by what I find that Treasurer will obstruct all he can Essex his affairs, and I am almost assured that Ormond is in great hopes of succeeding Essex that Treasurer works upon his fable that way, for he is come into him; and Treasurer doth desire King to make a good understanding between him, Arlington and Sec. Coventry that so all may joyne to gett mony. And there*

¹ Essex's only son, Algernon, Lord Maldon.

² Robert Dashwood, one of the Farmers, created a Baronet, 1684.

is no manner of care or art wanting to winne men to it; Treasurer is outwardly very confident of succeeding in it. This is his last game. What will ye successe (be) God knows. Duke is willing to admitt of this last Tryall upon a promise that if this parliament will give no money that then another shall be called. Portsmouth is very ill at ye Bath, and Treasurer doth labour hard to pay her debts.

There began a great fire at Southwark¹ on Friday arrising at 2 of the clock, and burnt all yesterday; Neither is it quite out so they tell me; its thought that above 500 houses have been burnt and blown up, though some will have it above a 1000; I can not finde any the least reason to feare Essex his being recalled this summer, if things will not goe as Essex could wish he must be contented, and endeavour by all reasonable ways to gett out of debt, for things look ill. Money grows scarce. Land cheap, France offers any condition for peace, and its feared will obtaine it this winter having laid aside Furstenburg and admitted of the Duke of Lorraine² as Duke and his Ambassador at ye treaty. Mr Savile³ was commanded to forbear coming to Court for some dayes till hee had made an explanation of some words he spoke to Treasurer in ye Bed-chamber; but is againe restored.

XLII.—THE EARL OF ORRERY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

London ye 27 of May 76

My Lord,

I believe your Ex^{ce} may be told from hence by good friends that we may soone have a new *Parliament* here there is noe ground to believe it. I know it has been much prest by *Duke* and some others, and was far advanced but now 'tis wholly off again and I am assured will not a second time be brought on.

Duke is desyrous that all Kings friends may be worsted, but *Orrery* tells me he has grounds to conclude it will vanish into air; or at least be only seeminge not reall.

¹ See *Calendar of State Papers*, Dom. S., 1676-7, pp. 133, 173.

² "The ablest Captain in the Imperial Service," Macaulay.

³ Henry Saville, Groom of the Bedchamber. In 1669 he carried a challenge to the Duke of Buckingham, and was sent to the Gate-house. See *Pepys* March 4, 1668-9.

Treasurer unknown to *Orrery* appoynted *Bishop of London* to meet him last thursday at night at *Orrery's* house. *Treasurer* came but *Bishop of London* faild on an unevertable account; so that the business is deferd till next weeke.

I find 56¹ most dissatisfied with *Presbyterian Party* 44² every weeke or rather day writes ye kindest letters imaginable to *Portsmouth* One of these 59³ showd a friend of *Orrery* in which 44 says he was prest to break with 59 but vows he will never do it. If 84⁴ dyes, I have reason to believe 85⁵ will have itt. I am, etc., etc.

XLIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO MR SECRETARY COVENTRY.

Dublin Castle June 4 1676.

Sir

Having ye opportunity by this gentleman Sir James Cuffe,⁶ who is a very worthy man, now goeing into England, I can write a little more at large to you concerning some particulars, than I could venture to doe by ye ordinary packett, there being ground to doubt that many times my Lord Ranelagh or some of his agents, may have ye opportunity of opening letters here, and tho in reason there ought not to bee any exceptions taken to ye particulars I communicate to you, in regard of ye place you hold yr self being ye proper minister, and indeed through whose hands only I ought regularly to represent to his Majestie ye state of his affairs in this Kingdome; yet since ye current of things is diverted from its proper channells, I must make a shift as well as I can to struggle with those difficulties that are upon mee till his Majestie shall please, or that necessitie shall reduce businesse into its old methods . . .

In conclusion I yesterday sent for ye undertakers who are here and told them, flatly and plainly, yt unless they did immediately

¹ Duke of York.

² King.

³ Duchess of Portsmouth.

⁴ Archbishop of Canterbury.

⁵ Bishop of London.

⁶ Proposed by Essex as one of the Commissioners, on the King's behalf, to supervise the farmers. See *Essex's Letters*, Dec. 4, 1675.

enter into this security to take ye money, and pay it out to ye army I would forthwith order it as far as it would goe to pay ye troops and company's their pay due at Lady day last; hereupon they have promist to enter into this security, for indeed it is high time something should bee done, some troops and companys of ye Army not having yet received their Michaelmas pay, some of them not either Christmas or Lady day, and are now entring upon June, wch makes eight months compleat in arrear.

The Army themselves are very quiet and modest for aught I can finde, but I am a little jealous yt ye people where they ly will not bee long soe, for I have had one petⁿ already of a whole town ag^t a Company quartering there, desiring yt ye soldiers may maintaine themselves out of their own pay and not ly upon Trust: and I should bee putt to much trouble if other like petitions should come in . . .

The Truth is I heartily wish ye Recknings with them were at an end and yt I had made my Report thereupon, and not bee putt perpetually to this sort of Combat to keep Life in ye government: This Letter I write only for yr own perusall and doe not desire you should make it publicke, or shew it to his Majestie, but if I finde anything should be pressing in affairs here, or may produce danger, I shall then write such a Letter as you may acquainte his Majestie with.

I am, etc., etc.

XLIV.—MR SECRETARY COVENTRY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Whitehall June 10th 1676

My L^d

I am to acknowledge yours of 3rd of June, but cannot as yet send you answer to any of the particulars not having had occasion to discourse with his Maj^y about them. but his Maj^y hath commanded mee to write to you in some kind, and himself had not well digested the affaire as to give all the particular directions ye affaire will require; but what he commandeth at present is this. Hee having re^d some

¹ The 4th. Ed.

advice yt some seditious Councils are agitated in Scotland and not unlike the nature of those yt some two yeares since were so happily prevented by the forces sent by yr Exc^{ley} advising with my Lord Granard and such head officers as you shall thinke fitting without making to much noyse or rumour, send some trooper towards Knockfergus to have an eye over those parts, and in the meantime his Maj^y will take a more particular consideration of this affaire and my next will bring you orders more distinct and positive. I shall not give your Exc^{ley} any further importunity than the desire of being acknowledged by you as, etc., etc.

Your Excell^{cy} will do well to consider what supply you must have from hence in case a like number of men be ordered to the North as was formerly.

XLV.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO MR SEC. COVENTRY.

Dublin Castle June 17 1676

Sir.

I have newly recd yrs of ye 10th instant wherein you tell mee yt his Maty having advice of some seditious Councils that are now agitating in Scotland, had then some thoughts of sending a like party towards Knockfergus as was sent thither about Two years since, And in ye postscript you desire mee to consider what supplies will bee necessary from England in case such a party should bee ordered thither.

Upon this occasion Tis fitt His Mat^y should bee acquainted with ye present state of ye Army here, wch is as follows.² There hath not bin one penny pay issued to any Troops or Companys since that wch became due Michaelmas last, so as by Midsummer, to wch wee now want but one weeke, They will bee all nine months in arrear (abating only ye proportion of 6 days between Christmass

¹ Francis Godolphin, writing to Essex July 16th, 1674, speaks of this order as given to make Essex's government uneasy, "Of which sort I reckon ye last Order concerning ye Armies march into ye North; Ye Author of wch Council, I suspect, designed as much yr Exc^{ys} trouble as ye King's Service."

² See Williamson's Notes about Ireland, *Calendar Dom. S. P.*, 1676-7, p. 240.

day and ye last of December, wch my Lord Ranelagh's Contract not including, hath made mee alter ye pay days from ye last of every quarterly month to ye 26th day of each of them) There are also about six or eight Troops and Companys who have not received their Mich: pay and these are 3 months more in arrear than ye rest.

My Lord Grenarde hath lately bin in ye country and gives me an account yt those Troops and Companys at or neer ye places where Hee hath bin, are very much dispersed, Ye Officers of ffoot being forced to permitt ye men to gett work where they can abt in ye Country for their subsistance; And ye Horse being somewhat of a better condition, such as doe not usually work at day labour, ye Officers are faine to allow them that have Houses and ffamilys to goe thither for ye present and for this His L^p conceives there is no remedy, since ye poor men cannot receive their pay, nor indeed doe I know what can bee done in ye case till ye money bee moving agen: Tis very happy yt ye last year and this prove so plentyfull, and ye provisions are very cheap in all parts, so as ye soldiers by their worke can helpe themselves to bread: I have now ordered ye 24,000^d to be transferred to my Ld Ranela &c to enable them to clear ye Christmas pay, and ye money will bee all compleated to them in lesse than a week, so as when this comes, I hope ye Army will be in somewhat a better posture; But as for ye removing any of them Northward (if his Mat^y should take such a resolution I doe not see how it well can be done, without more money both to clear ye quarters where they now are and likewise some stock to pay ye quarters into which they remove; And I conceive that this party, if any be designed thither cannot bee provided with lesse than their pay due at Lady day to discharge ye quarters from whence they come and yt their pay due at Midsummer bee given them to bear their charges in those places where they shall be posted: The Country neere Carrickfergus is almost all peopled with Scotch, who, I fear, are much of a mind with their brethren in Scotland, and wee found by experience Two years agoe when these Troops were there yt they made it as uneasy to them as they could, and would not furnish them with any provisions, but at most expensive Rates, unlesse they had

ready money to pay for ye same; Wherefore T'will be necessary yt this party bee constantly supplied, or otherwise wee shall hardly bee free from complaints and disorders there. The body wch was then sent down on ye like occasion consisted of 26 Companys of foot and six troops of Horse; The pay then requisite to ye like number for two quarters will amount to above seventeen thousand pounds as is made appear by ye note enclosed, so as ye principall thing wanting is this supply of money and I am apt to fear yt it will hardly bee furnished out of England.¹

Wherefore considering ye whole matter I doe humbly propose this to his Ma^{ty}, That whereas these New Farmers were obliged (if required thereunto) to pay 20000 more by way of Advance over and above ye 60000 already payd yt these men be forthwith called upon to furnish this money, and yt I have orders to apply ye same to this use: There will be a surplus of near 3000^d which may be kept in stock for any contingency or to defray ye charge of transporting these men, if his Ma^{ties} affairs should require it: This money so applied will bee no loss to his Majestie, further than ye interest of ye same, for T'will clear so much of ye growing pay on ye Establishment and consequently leave ye rest so much less to be payd out of ye growing Rent: The only objection I have to ye course propounded is whether these Farmers will bee brought to furnish this 20000^d time enough for ye occasion, ye Agreem^t being made yt they should have 3 months warning for ye payment of ye sed summe;

My Lord Treasurer did at Christmas last give them notice yt this money must be ready by ye 25th of March, but their patent being not perfected at that time they had further day given them till ye 8th of May and thus it stood when I left London: what longer time they have now gained and what agreements have bin with them since this I am altogether a stranger unto, and his Ma^{ty} can as I conceive bee only satisfied therein by my Lord Treasurer. I have according to ye directions of ye letter advised with some of ye Officers here concerning this affaire, viz my Lord

¹ Williamson says "There will be in the Treasury enough to pay this party that march into the North." Calendar S.P. Dom. 1676-7, p. 240.

Granarde, my Lord of Arran and Sir William Floor,¹ who doe agree, yt money being provided, there will then be wanting new arms for there Companys, and likewise some small Frigate to attend ye party to guard them over to secure their landing on ye other side in case there should bee need to transport them: As for ye arms, I had advice from Sir Jonas Moor² yt they were to be shipt about a fortnight since; if they are not yet on board I desire they may bee dispatcht so soon as may bee. For ye Frigate ye Norwich did attend ye last time, and was a vessell very fit for that purpose; she is now as I hear cleaning and fitting herself at Portsmouth, and has orders to returne hither as soon as she is ready. That or one of ye same rate will be proper for this time, and it were convenient if his Majesties affairs will permitt yt whilst ye Frigate attends at Carrickfergus there might another ply somewhere on ye coast of Munster or between Kensale and ye Lands end, to prevent any Insolence to his Majesties subjects by privateers, these being perpetually hovering upon that Coast.

This being all at present I conceive materiale to this Affair I shall give you no further trouble, but remaine with perfect Truth, etc.

XLVI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO MR SEC. COVENTRY.

Dublin Castle June 18: 1676

Sir,

I am sorry to finde any clouds are arising that may give his Majesties affairs any disturbance; The state of ye Army here being so fully represented in my other L^{re} I need add no more.

They are really in a worse condition than ever they were since his Majesties Restauration, for tho it may, and perhaps will bee said yt they were then Ten months in arrear, and also Twelve months, whereas now they are at most but nine; This is easily answered for they have most of them ye ten months arrear completely due, and when they shall receive that part which my Lord Ranela by his contract hath undertaken to answer them, it will bee but one

¹ *Sic*, for Flower, an officer in the Irish Army.

² The Mathematician and Surveyor of the Ordnance.

4th: And as to ye twelve month arrear so much as hath bin payd of ye same has generally bin at one 3^d part and those who refuse to compound at this Rate, cannot gett anything; so as upon ye matter ye Army hath in a great measure upon them ye load of these Ten months arrear, of ye twelve months and likewise 9 months of ye growing pay.

I must needs say ye men are much to bee commended for I doe not hear of one murmuring word among them, nor can I apprehend disorder from them; but since t'is soe, I humbly conceive such Loyall subjects ought to bee used with more care and tenderness and not provoked too far for you know ye old proverbe: That T'is a barley corne breaks a Horse backe; Sure I am I look upon myself as tied by all ye obligations imaginable both in duty towards his Majestie and justice to them truly and faithfully to represent their state and to press with all earnestness for their relief: One thing more I cannot but mention to you, wch is that by my Lord Ranelagh's proposalls for this new Revenue (wch indeed I opposd in writing yt my Argument might remaine) wee are brought to that passe, as if ye greatest necessity in ye world should happen, till some time in ye beginning of September next I doe not see that I shall have ye command of 500^D of ye publick monys: I have bin told by some of those who were here in ye year 1641 when that bloudy Rebellion broke forth, yt ye case was much ye same with ye Governm^t then, and yt if they could any way have procured 10000^D, that war and all ye fatall consequences thereof had probably bin stopt; but such was ye unhappiness of that time as ye Treasury was quite empty, and ye insurrections in severall parts made every one who had money look to himself and none could bee found to lend to ye publick; I pray God ye like may never happen agen; for I cannot omitt telling of you yt all ye projects and proposalls wch arise from our Vice Treasurer, doe still tend to this not to have any money left here in ye Treasury for ye most pressing Exigent that can arrise.

I am very glad to hear yt you are consulted with more frequently in ye affairs of this Kingdome, and I hope some favourable opportunity may happen wherein yr assistance may bee of advantage to

us and yt wee may gett some little stocke of money before hand for really I can never thinke any Government safe, much lesse a military one, as this is, without it: For ye present year I despaire of doeing anything but agst ye next I may offer some proposalls to that effect, and therefore for this Lre you need not give yr selfe ye trouble to shew it to his majestie, but may please either to keepe it yr selfe or offer it to him as you judge most convenient.

I am ever, etc.

XLVII.—THE EARL OF ORRERY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

London the 24 of June 1676

My Lord.

. . . . I understand yr Ex^{ce} and ye Councill have admitted the markets at Lymerick to be kept within ye Citty. I wish I who have a Patent to be gov^r of it during life, had been First heard.

But what is your Ex^{ce} pleasure 'tis my duty to obay, Only I beg your Ex^{ce}, since this is ordered, to strengthen that garrison with sold^{rs} for truth els 'tis every market day Lyable to be surprised and if it should be lost, 'tis not all ye Army in Ireland will recover it again to ye Kings obedience. I lay before it with Trebble a better army than ours now is, untill ye Plague and Famine made it surrender, we could not take it¹. . . Whatever you may heare of ye great kindnesse now between *Treasurer* and *Ormond*: it is but talke, and *Orrery* is assured not only by 90,² but also by others, yt *Duke* is not very pleased with *Ormond*, who, some fully beleeve would be *L. of Ireland* and 'tis ye Towne discourse yt *Treasurer* is willing he should be, both to ruin 74,³ and send him also away. But 92⁴ beleeves nothing of it, haveing seriously spoken on it with 62⁵ lately. I am assured from a good party yt *King* will Disclose in a written instrument yt he is satisfyd both with *Ormond* and *Ranelagh* and soe ye contest shall end.

The meetinge at *Chancelors* of him, *Treasurer*, *Ormond*, *Coventry*

¹ See ESSEX PAPERS, p. 3, for a similar statement.

² Lord Belasyse, 2nd son of Viscount Falconberg, Governor of Tangier. Deprived by Test Act, in 1672, for being a Papist.

³ Ormond.

⁴ Himself.

⁵ Treasurer.

Bp of London is like to come to nothing. *Bp of Winchester* was to be there but writt an excuse. *Lauderdale* was never at it tho aware of it . . . The scaffolds are puttinge up in Westminster hall for ye tryall of Lord Cornwallis¹ next Fryday

I am, etc., etc.

XLVIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE EARL OF ORRERY.

Dublin Castle July 1. 1676.

[This is a reply to the above. With reference to his objection to the market in the city of Limerick, Orrery is informed that the Deputy Governor, Sir W. King, approved of the alteration.—ED.]

The packett before this yr last letter arrived I receivd a little paper in Cypher and give yr Lp many thanks for it: For ye kindnesse betwixt my Lord Treasurer and my Lord of Ormond I am of ye like opinion with yr Lp, yt it is only Talke: what you say yt my Lord of Ormond will bee Lieutenant of Ireland, hath bin writt over hither by divers; some other Letters will have it yt ye Duke of Monmouth shall bee Lieu^t but I doe not believe hee will bee willing to bee soe far from ye King . . .

XLIX.—THE EARL OF ANGLESEY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Kensington June 27. 1676

[The first part of the letter is about his affairs with complaints of Ranelagh. He encloses a list of the Peers, including himself, as Lord Privie Seale, who were to try Lord Cornwallis.—ED.]

Friday next the last day of this month of June 1676 is the Lord Cornwallis his tryall by these his Peeres.

Its said also that Mr Downes is dead of his wounds in a late assault of a Constable and that the Earl of Rochester who was in company at the disaster is to be tryed also . . . The Lord Inchequin² is come

¹ Charles, Lord Cornwallis, was committed to the Tower June 21st, indicted for the murder of Robert Clarke.

² William O'Brien, Earl of Inchiquin.

from Tangier and I beleeve will find there are greater Bashaws in England before he returnes

Tynne¹ is like to be the mettle for farthings instead of Copper which is in ye Swede's power and inhanced upon us . . .

We have had extreme hot weather
and mischief by lightning here. I hope you
have it more temperate there.

The best newes I can conclude with is that your
Lady is landed safely and expected here tomorrow.

L.—THE EARL OF ORRERY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

London 27 June 1676.

My Lord,

Last night, when my Lady Northumberland was with us; we received your very welcome newes that my Lady Essex got to Chester Fryday last and yt she and my daughter Powerscourt,² waiting on her, would be here tomorrow night. My wife intends to wait on her on ye way, and soe would I were I able to light out and get into a coach.

An intimate freend of myne who is very intimate with *D. Portsmouth* has undertaken to me to engage her effectually against ye designe of *Ran, Conway* and Speaker. *D. Portsm* is come to Towne and will be with *Treas* tomorrow if she be able to stir out. Orrery has engaged Duke to oppose what 82,³ 83⁴ and 89⁵ are upon.

At a Hall called in ye city to choose new sherifs Sir Tho^s Clergis,⁶ and Sir Chas: Rich were chosen. And at ye greate meetinge one Ginks, a Linnen Draper, moved openly there for a Pet^a to the

¹ For Order in Council, etc., on this subject, see *Calendar of S. P. Dom.*, 1676-7, pp. 130, 165 and passim.

² Elizabeth, Viscountess Powerscourt.

³ Ranelagh. ⁴ Conway. ⁵ Speaker.

⁶ The brother of the Duchess of Albemarle, spelt Clarges. Burnet describes his character in the *History of his own Time* vol. i, p. 139. In the same work vol. II, 347-49, is a description of the irregular election of Rich at a later date, 1682.

Kinge to calle a new Parl^t but it was resisted; 'Tis beleevd Ginks wil be called to an account for soe irregular and dangerous a speech.

It beinge resolved ye Parl^t shall meet in Feb next, I have got his Maj^{ty}s Permission to repair into Ireland and if God restore my sore foot I am to be back in Feb . . .

I am, etc.

LI.—WILLIAM HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

London 1 July 1676

May it please yr Excellency,

My Lady arrived here on Wednesday last late but hath since been indisposed and very feverish; Yesterday ye Ld Cornwallis¹ was tryed by his peers; Ld Chancellor Ld High Steward and 36 Lds of ye Jewry he was indited for murder and felony and acquitted thereof by 30 and found guilty of manslaughter by 6 vid: Ld Trear, Ld Privy Seale, Ld High Chamberlain, Ld Ailesbury, Duke of Guilford, Ld Berkley; My Ld Rochester's² turne wilbe next, Mr Downes³ being dead, and I am informed another was wounded occasioned by a fraye at Epsum Wells.

One Mr Gynks⁴ was sent to ye Tower on Wednesday last by ye Councell for words hee spoke at ye choosing of Sheriffs wh tended to sedition, and Sir Philip Monkton⁵ was also examined for some words he had said in Yorkshire abt ye calling a New Plmant; The forain letters are not come in so yt there is no news of any action in those parts; Its reported yt ye Prince of Orange will besiege Mastricht or some very considerable place; now ye Osnaburgh Troops as also ye Naburghs are come up

I am, etc.

¹ Charles, 3rd Baron.

² John Wilmot, 2nd Earl of Rochester.

³ See Letter XLIX.

⁴ For examination of Jinks or Jenks by the Privy Council, see *Calendar of State Papers, Dom.*, 1676-77, p. 194.

⁵ Also of Sir Philip Monkton, *ibid.*

LII.—THE EARL OF ORRERY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

London 1st of July 76

My Lord,

I more than hope that ye designe I writt to yr Ex^{ce} will come to nothinge, for beside other endeavours therein of 92¹; 90² has positively engaged to 92 and gave him leave to write so much to 91³ that he undertakes 56⁴ shall hinder it. Tom Elliot⁵ has been more hearty for 91 when 92 spoke to him of it and went instantly to 59⁶ about it who is nowe very kind to him and he undertakes 59 shall doe what is fit . . .

LIII.—SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL⁷ TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.Spring Gardens 4th July 1676

My Lord,

I have been lately soe involved in ye business of Trade and Plantations, and my waiting month now past, that I come thus late to acknowledge the great honour of yr Exc^{ies} of the 3rd past, and the great obligation which the misfortune of my fall brings to mee, by your Exc^{ies} concerne therein. Mr Godolphin had some accounts from mee of that accident, which was soone well over, bating the life of my coachman.

I cannot observe at this time, any discourse that relates to your Exc^{ie}, or in truth to that Kingdome. The most important points of consultation at home being how to dispose the Parliament to meet in good temper, for their meeting is avowed. Some of the Bishops have lately met in the Cabinet Council upon the points that concern Religion, and all that sound abroad; or at least that which is gheest at, seems to bee severity agst Popery, and more Indulgence to the Protestants. 'Tis alsoe said that his Mast^{ie} will

¹ Himself. ² Bellassis. ³ Essex. ⁴ Duke of York.⁵ See *Nicholas Papers* vol. III, p. 279-80.⁶ Duchess of Portsmouth.⁷ Sir Robert Southwell, Envoy Extraordinary to Portugal, 1665: to Brussels, 1671: Clerk to the Privy Council. Essex had written condoling with him.

reckon more particularly on his old friends, and that into such hands the ffarme of the Excise shall next bee disposed.

Your Excy will see by the inclosed Order, that the gentlemen of the West Country are likely to bee well pleased with a design in hand concerning ye ffarme of the tin which the business of farthings is only designed to introduce; for the undertakers doe refuse to meddle with ye Farme unlesse Farthings and such small coyne may bee made in Tin whereof they hope for a great consumption in ye Plantations.

For as to England there is now but 32000^{lbs} in Copper farthings all over ye Kingdome which will bee but a little share of that vast quantity of Tin which Cornwall doth yearly afford, the computation being made at 100000^{lbs} worth per annum. Who the ffarmers will bee is as yet uncertain.

Last Council day one Jenks, a Linnen Draper was sent to ye Gatehouse for his presumption in Guildhall to animate that assembly unto an addresse for a new parliament, and for his ill deportment at the Board, when he should have excused it; 'tis thought hee is in some close friendship, and put upon the exploit by a great man turned Cittizen.¹ But the same day there was a much more extraordinary scene at the Board in unravelling some discourses of Sir Philip Munkton² who had entertained his freind with dismal apprehensions touching danger that attended his Maj^{ties} Person, of our certain calamities should hee bee snatched from us, that France would immediately pour in upon us at the first opportunity; and Popery triumph if not speedily prevented and that the best prevention imaginable would bee immediately to call this or a New Parliament and consult them about some fitting Redress.

These points were containd in a letter writ from one hee had discoursd unto, and being calld in, hee soe little disownd this conference that hee flew to higher strains, sayng the Duke had deserted our Church, and what were wee not to feare concerning our Religion, as alsoe our property, and if the King would doe as the His people would advise hee need not trouble himselfe with ye security of Guards; and soe hee went on, mixing his Loyalty, his

¹ Evidently Lord Shaftesbury, see p. 103-5. ² See p. 105.

Zeal, and his sufferings in all hee said, and from thence taking liberty to say what hee pleas'd. And yet with all this zeal against ye Papists when the King told him flatly of his menacing some Papists unlesse they would give him money, which could bee proved, hee did not answer one word.

Upon the whole matter hee is like to come off with flying colours by being thought a madman . . . I am, etc., etc.

ROBERT SOUTHWELL

LIV.—THE EARL OF ORRERY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

London the 4th of July 76.

My Lord,

Yesterday morninge was the first time my Lady Essex stirrd out since she came to London. She did me then the unmistakable Honour to give me a visit when I gave her an accounte of some things relateing to your Ex^{ce} wh ye post before I had given you information of.

All yesterday in ye afternoone my wife waited on her to kiss ye Kinge's, ye Queen's and the Dutchesse's Hands; but the Duke was not at Court.

It is to me a sad evidence of ye ill temper of ye people that when ye jury at Hick's¹ Trial had acquitt Radford of ye most infamous Lyboll yt ever was written against any Prince, there was such shouting and clappinge of hands at it.

Mr Ginks² has by his Councill moved Three Times in one day with greate formallity, for his Habeas Corpus. My Lord Chancellor has put it off till Thursday, ye last great Feast day of the last Terme.

It was one Lee, an English gunner who saved all ye Sweed's Fleet after their defeat by an action of as much courage and skill as I have heard of. The relation³ is too long for a gouty hand to write, but his reward we heare was 9000^{lbs} and ye making him Rere Admirall . . .

¹ Joseph Hicks, convicted July 17, 1675, for robbery, but reprieved. *Home Office Courrant*, book 1, p. 175; *Calendar S. P. Dom.*, 1676-7, p. 171.

² Francis Jenks or Jenkes, *see* preceding letter.

³ For fuller relation about Captain William Lee, *see* *ibid*, *Calendar*, p. 188.

LV.—SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Spring Garden July 22.

. . . There was lately seized an impression of Popish books of Devotion;¹ the Printer² appearing, produced an order for it from the Portugall Ambassador³ as Chamberlaine to ye Queene wch has raysed a great storme agst him, but ye man has playd ye Rogue in ye matter for he had printed all ye books before, and this order was to provide a matter of *a* hundred of them for the Queen's Servants, wch *a* he turned into a figure of 9. The businesse will be further examined next Councill day, and Dom Francisco is ordered there to appeare.—

The Prince of Orange⁴ has received a shott in his arm but ye bone not broken and he is able to stir about . . .

LVI.—THE EARL OF ORRERY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Minhead July 18. 76

My Lord,

. . . The night before I left London wh was ye 6th my Lord Chanl, my Lord Lauderdale and my Lord Bishop of London did me the honour to write mee and they all assured me that day his Maty had commanded St James's Chappell, where the Portugall Ambassador kept Mass, should be shut up.⁵

The day I came hither, Tiverton, a considerable Town in Devonshire, 17 miles from here had 80 houses burnt.

I never saw ye people in such fears as they are inn. They keep guards in all places, as in Time of warr. God keep all quiet . . .

¹ "The Great Sacrifice of the New Law."

² Anthony Laurence.

³ Dom Francisco de Millo. *Calendar S. P. Dom.*, 1676-77, p. 237.

⁴ "The Prince of Orange is wounded in the arm with a musket shot." *Ibid*, p. 238.

⁵ This was decided at the Foreign Committee, July 2, *Ibid*, p. 201.

LVII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO MR SECRETARY COVENTRY.

Dublin Castle July 24 1676

Sir,

Among other intelligence wch I have received of ye actings of ye Romish Clergy and Friers I send you a transcript of a letter from a very discreet person employd by mee to hold a correspondence with some Friers, who for small rewards doe give an Acc^t of their proceedings in this Kingdome; Comparing ye several notices I have from divers parts I doe not apprehend any danger from these people at present, and for this reason having time enough given mee, I should bee glad to know his Mat^{ys} pleasure what I am to doe in these or such like cases: Upon an adresse made by ye House of Commons His Mat^y did, neer three years ago by Ord^r of Councill direct mee to issue a proclamation for ye banishing of all Popish Bishops and others exercising any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, together with all Regulars, wch was accordingly done; but I conceive ye laws of this Kingdome were not rightly understood by ye House of Commons, who made this adresse, for tho ye exercising Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction by forrein authority bee peenall upon ye old Statutes in Ed 3^d and Rich 2^d Times; as also by a statute enacted 2^d Eliz in this Kingdome: yet ye later acts in ye time of Queen Eliz and King James having never bin enacted here, nor Ireland especially named in the laws of England, they are not of force in this Country, so as it is no crime for any priest or frier to bee found here, as it is in England; however this proclamation is not without preced^t for there hath bin a former one in ye time of King James banishing all priests and Jesuits whatsoever out of this Kingdome: The truth is they are very indiscreet, and over buisy, and doe many times spread seditious books among ye people; one of wch I shew^d his Majestie when I was last in England, wherein 'tis declared: That for ye concerns of Religion men may take up armes wth out authority from ye Prince: but these people if any search bee made after them, doe so cry out of ye severity and persecution exercised here, and are apt to raise such clamour in England, where perhaps 'tis some little time ere I can send an

answer thereunto, yt you would oblige mee very much in signifying what I am to doe on such information as this of ye 19th of July herewith sent you, and yt his Maj^{ty} will please to believe yt never any searches were made, or any of ye Romish Clergy imprisoned by my particular order, but it is ever done upon some substantiall grounds and not out of an inclination (which I am very far from) to trouble men who are of a different opinion from myself.

I am, etc., etc.

ENCLOSURES WITH ABOVE.

As I used formerly so I think it still my duty to contribute my little mite of intelligence to those greater acc^{ts} wch yr L^p has from many others and shall therefore acquaint yr L^p yt Two Fryers were yesterday with mee, who, being of English extraction and better principles than ye rest assured mee yt ye removing ye native clergy of ye Pale may bee of dangerous consequence hereafter, of wch yr L^p had formerly an intimation by letter: A Franciscan Fryer shewd me an order under seale from his superior dated last week for his removal to Ross, and tells mee yt James Darcy, Guardian of Dublin, has removed ye native Fryers thereto and taken in Owen Roe's¹ bastard son, Patrick Cassedy, Nicholas Heley, Patrick Calor and severall other Northern Fryers, men most averse to ye English Govern^t and ye like is lately done in Meath and other County's of ye pale, at wch ye native clergy are much troubled and wish it were redrest; and truly tho this discovery may now proceed from discontent, yet it may bee of ill consequence hereafter, for yr L^p knows yt ye Clergy of ye Pale would not consent to any Rebellion ag^t ye Queen, tho instigated by ye Bull of Pius Quintus, and ye Declaration of ye Divines of Salamanca, and Valedolid; but a little before ye last Rebellion ye native priests and Fryers were removed, and Ulster priests placed in ye Pale who soon persuaded ye old English to join with ye rest, And whether they (if a peace were once concluded between ye French and

¹ Owen Roe O'Neill, nephew of the Earl of Tyrone, leader of the Irish Catholics, who died on the eve of Cromwell's arrival in Ireland.

Germans) have not hopes of some disturbance may I presume also bee considered, they keeping a constant correspondence abroad and every convent paying yearly 20^{lbs} to ye provincially and 15^p among them for foreine Intelligence, wch money hee says is constantly exacted from them sub poena excommunicationis and wch hee once refusing to pay James Darcy, now Guardian of Dublin, but then Coñssary visitator, confined him 4 weeks to his chamber, and then sent him into Conaght: And lately ye usual summes of money were exacted by James Darcy and John Brady, provincially, now in Dublin with Darcy and sent to their agents abroad, one of which is a son of Sir Phelin O'Neale, sent over with a summe of money about a year since, who writes often to James Darcy and Patrick Porter, Superior of Leinster, wch two are ye great Negotiators for forein Intelligence, and disperse it immediately over ye Kingdome, in whose trunks hee believes many things of consequence would be found, among which a Breve that 'lately came from Rome: Patrick Porter lives privately with Mr Taylor of Swords, and converseth much with James Darcy, who lodges at Mr Neal's a Cooper in St Francis Street, but for fear his lodgings should at any time bee searched hee keeps his trunks with Mrs Purcell a nun who lyes at one Corporall Gaskins in Corke Street, if it bee thought fitt to search, both must bee done at ye same time; otherwise Porter will imediately have notice at Swords; I urged all I could to know if there was any present designs in hand, of wch they vowed themselves wholly ignorant, adding if they should hereafter hear anything they would discover it, but those in Dublin and ye Northern Fryers will communicate nothing to them, because they are originally English, but their great care and ye annual expense wch they are at to gett forein Intelligence makes them suspect their future designs. I presume it were convenient an eye were fixt on men so dillegent and wickedly industrious, especially in these times, ye Irish being so big with expectations of a change in Religion; but long may his Ex^{ty} continue among us (for whom I am infinitely obliged to pray) his great wisdom and vigilance will I hope discover and prevent all disturbance here, and every mans eye will I suppose be open and give such intimations as may

bee any wise usefull to ye publick: what little I can find out (and I shall not value labour or Expense) shall be communicated.

Rec: July 20.

Galloway June 11th 1675.

Part of a L^r from a Fryer in Conaght.

As for ye bleeding Iphigenia: There came 3 coppy to this towne sent by Bp French. One for Sir Henry Linch, one for Anthony French and one for Mr Christopher French, they make so much of it as it goes from hand to hand, the people are so taken with it yt in my opinion if 20000 volumes had come over they would all have been bought up.

[This is followed by the paragraph referred to by Essex on the right of making war for defending and preserving the Catholic faith.

LVIII.—THE EARL OF ANGLESEY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

July 25. 1676

By the enclosed copies your Ex^{cy} will see what ill blood is stirring here: I was sorry the Lord Chancellor brought the first businesse to the Councill after he had refused Jenks¹ a habeas corpus contrary to my Lord Cooke's opinion in his comment on Magna Charta page 53.

Jenks shows himselfe very obstinate and scornes to petition though he knows he may have baile allowed at Council for askeing.

Gibson and Humphrevill are absconded or fled and not to be found with any diligence.

Copies enclosed 19 July 1676

The Lord Chancellor having this day acquainted the King in Councill with a petition delivered him by James Winstanley, Thomas Waring, James Pickering, and John Hammond of London march^{ts} in the behalf of ffrancis Jenks, prisoner in ye Gatehouse and hereby offering Bayle and thereby demanding a writt of mainprize to deliver the prisoner, which petition was accompanied with a note of Presidents, whereof the last was in the 3rd of Richard the 2nd.

¹ See Letter LIII, p. 63.

His Mat^y considering the case to bee of great consequence as it concerns ye Right of ye subjects, and the Rights of ye Crowne, was pleased to declare he would suffer no minister of his to deny the subject any part of their just Rights but yet thought fitt to advise with his Judges touching his due Rights in a case wherein there had no precedent been showne in some hundreds of years, and therefore his Mat^{ty} doth order that true copies of ye said petition together with a note of the precedents be delivered to the Judges as soon as they return from their circuits who are to be attended by his Mat^{ys} learned Councill and to show their opinions to his Mat^y what ought by law to be done upon this petition."

Copy of Mr Seymour and Dr Jones Information against Mr Gibson and Mr Humphrevill

(Gibson) saying further what signifies the Parliament when the people of England shall appeare on Black Heath, they are noe thing in their hands. Nay (he the said Gibson said) they would crush them to nothing and they durst not appeare to oppose them. What then, said he, is the house of Commons to the whole Nation, Come Gentlemen lets Drinke a health to that brave man Mr Jenks whom all ought to love, and wished that all men were as he was and then this Nation would live, and then Mr Humphrevill now in Commission of ye Peace, with a loud laughter cryd out O my brave boy."

LIX.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO MR SECRETARY COVENTRY.

Dublin Castle July 25. 1676

Sir,

I cannot omitt acquaintaiing you, yt wee have bin lately very near a mutiny at Drogheda, ye occasion thus; one of ye soldiers there came to his officer, desiring of him a little mony to buy a pair of shoes, ye officer indiscreetly answering with some roughnesse, ye soldier immediately fell to words clamouring that he was so far behind in his pay, wch was above nine months compleat, and that he could not subsist, whereupon they grew to higher terms,

so as ye soldier at last being very insolent ye officer ordred him to be sett on ye wooden Horse; this done ye rest of ye soldiers of that Company gott together, and took him off: There being five Companys of ffoot, and one troop of Horse in ye Towne, ye other four companys and troop of Horse immediatly drew forth and quieted them setting ye man up agen on ye Horse: 'Tis very happy this matter has passt over soe; but it is a sad thing yt wee should bee at ye hazard of a mutiny for every ye least indiscretion an officer shall be guilty of towards his soldiers, for such is ye case where an army is unpayd. . . .

LX.—THE EARL OF ANGLESEY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

London Augst 8th 1676.

May it please your Ex^{cy}

Your Countesse being now upon her returne will acquaint you the state of things here, but least that should be thought an excuse I doe hereby let your Ex^{cy} know what hath passed lately.

His M^{ty} by advice of his Privy Council resolved to displace the Queens Chamberlin¹ who was found very faulty in the designe of Popery, whether it will proceed further I know not. The Comttee of Trade and Plantations have made a very effectual report concerning the French takeing neer threescore English ships in a very short time, and have advised his Mat^y to do right and give defence to his subjects, the Report (wherein ye Lord Chancellor and most of ye great officers have joyned) is ordered by his Ma^{ty} in Councell to be sent to the French King, and to be delivered to his Embassador here, and if speedy justice be not done I beleieve our peace will not be long lived if we be in condition to right ourselves. Philipsburgh and Mastrick are sore pressed, and there is hot worke at both. Yet we expect every day news of both their surrenders.

There is great flocking to Rome for ye election of a new Pope.²

¹ See Letter LV.

² Innocent XI, 1676-1689.

The match between my Lord Marshall's¹ sonne and Lady Henrietta Wentworth is broken off.

There hath been a dangerous mutiny at Tangier but Sir Holmes Fairebone, the new deputy governor, with great courage and ye hanging of three soldiers hath suppressed it. I am sorry my Lord Ranelagh and his partners try the utmost patience of ye army under your Ex^{cs} command, My Lord Duke of Ormond hath spoken plaine English, and none spare them. I have seen also your Ld^{ps} order for their payment wherein you have done your part. Here is an envoye from Muscovie had audience this day. Its thought Ld Sunderland will be Ld Chamberlain to the Queen. Many English have been killd at Mastrick. I am, etc.

LXI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR HENRY CAPEL.

Dublin Castle Sept 2nd 1676

Dear Brother

I have yours of 26th Aug: but my preparing a Reply to ye Lord Ranela's answer does so take up my thoughts as I have not leisure to speak to each particular of your Lre: In short I am glad you have fixt ye affair of my Secretary and I wish Sir Cyrill Wych² will come over to mee so soon as conveniently hee can: There are lodgings for himsele within ye Castle, but ye house is so streight for my owne family as there cannot be accommodations for his, wherefore hee, intending as I find by yr Lre to bring over his wife and children wth him he must provide himsele a house in Towne: There are Two Clerks now in that office who have been there ever since my coming over and are both as I conceive very good men: One of them is East who you know was my servant long before I came into Ireland and him I am loath to have removed unlesse I could

¹ Henry, created Earl of Norwich 1672, and also created Earl-Marshal of England with remaindership to various branches of his family. He succeeded his brother Thomas as Duke of Norfolk in Dec. 1677. His sons were Henry, who succeeded to the title in Jan. 1683-4, and Thomas.

² Successor, as Essex's Secretary, to Francis Godolphin who had died in the previous August. He, Sir Cyril Wyche, was created one of the Lords Justices of Ireland in 1693.

provide for him some other way; for ye other hee has been in yt Employment both in my Ld of Ormond's time, my Ld Berkley's and my owne and indeed I fear hee being a man so experienced and skillfull in his way, any Secretary I should have will find himsele very lame without him; wherefore if Sir Cyrill Wyche will bring over any one to bee for that use, I will see to do something for East, it not being reasonable to turne off an old servant without some provision, so as I conceive it may be best for Sir Cyrill Wyche when hee comes upon ye place to see how he likes them.

Dr Stillingfleet¹ hath lately as also formerly sent mee some of his books so soon as hee published them, I desire you will find means to give him thanks for ye same.

Since ye writing of this having notice ye Dutchesse was brought to bed I have herewith enclosed a L^{re} to his Royall Highnesse upon that subject. Tis sent open wch you may advise with my Ld Chamberlaine² who understands these nicetyes of ceremony better than mysele and if hee judges it proper you may please to deliver it. If you have not shown my L^{re} of ye 20 of August giving ye reasons why I did not in ye late transactions concerning ye Lord Ranela addresse myself to his Ma^{ty} joyntly with ye Privy Councill it may perhaps not bee amiss yt at some seasonable time ye King and Duke did see it.

The last News L^r gives an account concerning my secretary and methinks not hansom viz that Sir Cyrill Wyche is app^d, wch may be either appointed or approved, and this being dispersed may look as if he were imposed upon me, whereas it should have bin said That his Ma^{ty} being made acquainted with ye choice of his Ex^{cy} &c. Tis Mr Cokes L^{ter} whom I looke upon as a very honest man I would not have you make any business thereof as if I tooke it very ill, but 'twere not amiss some little notice were taken therein.

I am, etc.

Then Canon of St Paul's, consecrated Bishop of Worcester 1689.
The Earl of Arlington.

LXII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR HENRY CAPEL.

[This letter, unsigned in the copy, concludes the packet of papers, Its date would be Sept. 8, 1676.—ED.]

Dear Brother,

I have now sent to Mr Secretary Coventry a reply to the Lord Ranelaghs papers, I have taken a little time that I might doe it the more effectually, and send proofs to each particular. I question not but all these papers will bee communicated to you; they will doubtlesse make evident how barbarously the Army is here used for their December pay, and truly I am so much concernd at it that for my owne part I had rather loose not only my place but even my life than see these poor men, who have a long time bin soe patient and obedient, thus oppressed.

The Lord Ranelagh having taken upon him to relate what has past between the King and himself I suppose it may bee no vanity in mee to tell you the particulars of the reception I had from his Mat^{ie} when I attended him at Windsor the 18th of July being the next day after I arrived. His Mat^{ie} was pleased to call mee into his bedchamber and expresse himselfe in these words. My Lord Lieut I am most abundantly satisfyed with your care of my affaires committed to your charge. You have performed your trust, in that manner, as it is without fault. To which I replyed, that I looked upon myself as the most happy man in the world, by having this assurance of his Mat^{ies} favour and acceptance of my endeavors to serve him, but yet with submission I did fear his Mat^{ie} had gone too farre in this character he was pleased to give of mee. I was sensible that any man how virtuous and industrious soever could not act in so high a station without daily committing some errors and that as I had reason every day to aske God Almighty pardon for my dayly sins so ought I to beg that of his Mat^{ie} for my every day faults, but as I hoped my sins against God would be found the sins of weaknesse, and not presumption, so my faults against his Mat^{ie} would appeare to bee frailties and not willfull crimes; before I had quite ended his Mat^{ie} interrupted mee and said, No! No! say no more you are without fault, and had you committed any I should

have knowne it, for I can assure you that many have bin objecting against you, but when matters came to be examined nothing was found to bee in them. This is the truth of what then passd. And I am still of the same opinion that noe man though in so meane a degree as a Justice of the Peace, can performe his duty with that exactnesse as not to have good cause every day to fly to his Maties mercy, therefore how my Lord Ranelagh can bear up with that defiance which with oaths and execrations hee hath publicly given unto it, I cannot well understand, for my owne part I envy not his felicity and addresse, but have learned to discharge my duty upon other maxims and in other methods, and whenever I forsake these or faile in performing my service to his Ma^{tie} with that humility and circumspection as is before exprest I desire to bee forsaken and abandoned by yourself, who are my nearest relation, and all good and virtuous men.

Whilst my Lord Ranelagh is justifying himself in Englande by falacys and equivocations wee have the pleasantest scene here, as to the pay of the army that hath ever bin known, for if Captain Swift Nix (once an eminent Robber in England) but by his Maties grace pardoned, and now become a good and carefull officer) bee asked how his Christmas pay is answered, hee says he had an assignment sent him for December Pay, but hee was many dayes searching about ere he could find the Rec^r on whom it was charged, at length hee mett him on the Road, who, as soon as hee saw him hee rode away as fast as hee could, the Captain follows him (tho not without danger as is conceived) had hee met with Company, of being suspected to bee exercising his old trade againe, and that whilst hee was prosecuting his Right hee was pursueing a Prey). At length after a miles riding the Captaine overtakes the Rec^r and presents him with his Assignm^t which hee refuseing to comply with, they parte.

If Colonel Dillon bee asked how his December pay was answered hee sayes 'tis so farr from being paid that they owe him 100^{lbs} of his Michaelmas pay, and for that they give him an insolvent Assignm^t, Yet hee ownes they use him with greate respect and civility, for whenever he discourses the trustees for the undertaking, they

tell him, hee is a man of greate Birth, and a Privy Councillor and therefore great honor and respect is due to him, and this is his pay.

If Major Sothesby bee asked how his December pay is answered, hee says hee had an Assignment and it cost him thirty or forty shillings ere hee could find the Rec^r on whom 'twas charged and when hee was mett with and showd the Assignment he refused Payment.

If Captain FitzGerald bee askd how hee is dealt with for his Christmas pay, hee says that Mr Shepney and Mr Roberts (Two Phanaticks) the latter an Annabaptist allwais preach to him, saying, that it grieves their very souls that hee should not bee paid, yea and that it lay exceeding heavy upon their spirits that so good a man, and one whom they loved soe well should not bee paid with ready money.

If one ask Sir John Devollier (who is a Lorrainer and cannot speak English well) how his December pay is answered, hee says in broken English, mee ha bin vid de Com^{rs} and sho dem de Assignment vich der Coll^r refused, and de Com^{rs} dey laugh at me, This the entertainment I have every day here.

The first of these I cannot speak of mine owne knowledge, but being a pleasant story I could not omitt it, but all the rest are the accounts given mee by the very offic^{rs} themselves.

My Lord Ranelagh is very successfull with his nice distinctions, and, since hee is soe, a distinction may bee found for him. His father¹ upon his deathbed sent a comand to him by my Lord Fitzharding hee should never meddle with or touch publique money, how well hee has obeyed the command of his dying parent is evident. His Ma^{tie} as head of the Church is supream in all Ecclecall and spirituall matters as well as Sovereigne in all things temporall, Now since this wretched man my Lord Ranelagh hath lived in a constant and habituall sin for these 5 years together (if it bee a vice or sin to disobey the dying comand of a father) it may be very proper for his Ma^{tie} in this his Ecclecall capacity to provide that his Lop continue no longer in this sin, and therefore

¹ Arthur, 2nd Viscount, succeeded in 1669 by his only son.

dismiss him his Vice Treas place, this railery and foolish clinching may bee as proper as his upon mee for doing my duty.

I have no more to add but remaine.

LXIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO MR SEC. COVENTRY.

Dublin Castle Nov. 18. 1676.

Sir,

The necessity of affairs here hath forced mee to doe a thing beyond my commission, ye occasion this; We have 3 Judges in each Court of Judicature, Mr Justice Johnson one of ye Judges of ye Common Pleas is now in England with licence, My Lord Chief Justice of that Court is fallen extreme ill, soe as hee is not able to stirre out of his house; Mr Justice Cusack who is ye 3rd being an infirme man and often troubled with ye goute sent mee word on Thursday last hee found his pain so faln into his limbs as with great difficulty hee made a shift to goe to the Court that day, but was soe very ill as he did not think hee should possibly bee able to sitt ye next; Now if the Court should by such an accident bee discontinued all causes there must begin de novo, and those persons who had brought their businesse ready for Tryall, and all ye preparatory proceedings thereunto would have bin voyd: I did therefore immediately summon ye Privy Councill to consider what was fitt to bee done, and we all agreed that a Commission should be prepared to constitute one of ye Barons of ye Excheqr to bee a Justice of ye Common Pleas during pleasure, wee fixt upon a Baron of ye Excheqr and not one of ye Judges of ye King's Bench, because ye Judges and lawyers here inform us (as indeed it is) yt it would bee contrary to common right to constitute a Judge in ye King's Bench one of ye Justices of ye Common Pleas in regard their lyes an appeal from ye Common Pleas to ye King's Bench: and so ye same person would at ye same time be Judge in both places. This Commission is to be ready at ye Seale with my Ld Chancellor yt in case Mr Justice Cusack doe fall ill my Ld Chancellor may putt ye seale to it, and swear Mr Baron Hene into that place, who is to receive

directions to keepe things only in forme there, adjurne ye Court from day to day; There was indeed another expedient mentioned namely to adjourn ye Court to ye next Terme, but that was attended with this inconvenience, yt in case my Ld Ch Justice or Mr Justice Cusack should be well enough before ye end of ye terme to sitt there those of his Mat^{ies} Subjects who were ready for tryal would lose ye benefit of this terme, and therefore ye first expedient was resolved.

I have enquired what precidents have bin in ye case but can find none to ye point in good times for indeed it is a thing can rarely happen yt of 3 men not one of them should bee able to sitt in Court: In ye time of ye Usurpation under Cromwell there was but one Judge in each Court and Pepys one of these Judges happening to dy, Henry Cromwell, then Deputy, immediately putt another in his room, notwithstanding his Commission did not empower him soe to doe, it being under ye same forme as whilst England was governd by a King, wch ever reserved ye nomination of ye Judges to his Majestie; Tho I find not any perfect precedent in ye case, yet there is one in my Ld of Ormond's time since his Mat^{ies} restauration of a higher nature wch was upon ye death of Sir Mac Eustace late Lord Chancellor, his grace made ye present Ld Chancellor Keeper of ye Seale for ye same reason as I have done this viz yt there might not bee a stop of Justice. However 'tis certeine that these Judges' places being reservd to his Mat^{ies} dispose ye Lieut^h here cannot regularly constitute one, but having done it tis good in Law. Wherefore I desire you will acquainte his Mat^e with ye matter together with ye Inducements thereto as also yt ye Commission if it shall happen to be made use of will bee vacated agen, so soon as this present terme is ended.

Here hath lately happened a quarrell between my Lord of Tyrone¹ and Mr Villers,² wherein truly I think both are in fault, for upon some irregular proceedings in relation to ye taking possession of

¹ Richard Power, Earl of Tyrone, negotiated for the surrender of Cork to William's forces in 1690.

² Colonel Edward Villiers? Brigadier Villars demanded the surrender of Kinsale from Sir Edward Scott in 1690.

lands in ye County wch were examined at ye board, wee finding some personal sharpness in these Two one agnst another, I directed my Ld Chancellor among other things to give them publickly in charge there before ye board, yt neither of them should offer any particular affront to ye other from whence any quarrell might be grounded, but proceed in this business as ye Law did direct, and accordingly they both engaged soe to doe. Since that Mr Villers upon notice yt my Lord Tyrone had spoken some ill words of himself and his wife, sent a challenge to his L^p of wch having notice I confined them both to their chambers and orderd my Lord Granard to end ye matter: The truth is should I bring this businesse to ye Councill board, which might properly enough bee done, Mr Villers would have much ye worst of it, in regard of sending a challenge to a Privy Councillor wch you well know is not to bee admitted, but being loath, ye suits in Law wh are between them being very considerable yt one should receive more discountenance than ye other, I resolved ye matter should bee as equally composed as may bee: Tho this affaire be somewhat too little to trouble you with yet to prevent any false rumour of ye thing, both parties having men of quality to their friends in England I have presumed upon yr patience to relate ye same.

I am, etc.

LXIV.—SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Nimmeguen Oct 2 S.V.

1676

My Lord,

[The letter begins with a description of the delays in meeting, especially those caused by the Emperor.—Ed.] Which [continues the writer] is but one argument of many others wee have, more materiall, to reckon upon all the arts and endeavours that can bee urged by the Courte of Vienna to delay or obstruct the progress of this treaty or the sudden ende of a warr by which the Emperor is grown to a greater power in Germany (by the union of almost all the Princes

in one common interest with him) than any Emperor has been these three or four hundred years.

There is one difficulty still remaining in the preliminaries by a demand from the Duke of Loraine the Dukes of Nienburgh and Luneburg of the style of Embrs to be given their ministers in the passports as has been already done to the Electors upon the precedent established by the treaty of Munster. I cannot yet judge whether his Majesty will think fit to support this pretence towards France or Sweden, nor those crowns will allow it, or those princes come to the Congress without it.

France seems extremely to desire the peace but does not think themselves in condition to buy it dear by any considerable cessions of what they have conquered.

The Estates are extremely earnest for it, and find nothing in their way but the honour of their Treaties and interest of having a good frontier left in Flanders.

Sweden is more passionate for it than both as finding no appearance of being restored to any of their late losses but by Treaty.

Spain thinks it their interest to continue the war unless the Country of Burgundy and five or six towns may be restored them in France, but the factions at Madrid make them more unfit for the war and less unwilling to the peace.

The Emperor, Denmark, Brandenburg and three Dukes of Luneburgh are all violent at bottom for continuing the war till the Swedes be wholly beaten out of Germany, and the French out of Lorain, Alsace and the three Bp^{cks} of Metz, Toulⁱⁿ and Verdun.

France and Sweden will, if a general peace cannot be composed urge all arts to gain a separate one with Holland. The Estates would be enough inclinable to it as weighing interest more than honour and present considerations more than future. What the Prince of Orange will do in this matter I will not judge, but all confess that the whole business of the peace depends upon his personal resolutions. For, though the Imperialists promise themselves some considerable successes this Campaign in Alsatia beyond the taking of Philipsburgh wch has been of mighty moment, yett none beleve the alliance will goe on with the war if Hollande

gives out, and none doubt of this last, if the prince will fall in with the current humor of the Estates.

By this schem yr L^{sp} will make some judgement upon the occurrences of two or three months to come, for I suppose the crisis will not be over till about January next by wch the appearance of peace must govern the preparations necessary for another Campaigne and after that bee governd by them.

This day are come to my hands two letters one from Sir W^m Goldolphin to mee, the other from the Mareschal d'Estrades' son (now Amb^r at Venice) to his Father, who is one of the French Amb^{rs} here, both seeming very good accounts of two great affairs that have lately happened upon these two scenes, which gave mee an opinion they would not bee unwelcome to yr Lords^p and therefore I have given order for the copying both out if it bee possible (in) time enough to enclose with this letter which cannot end without the profession of that great truth and passion wherewith I am, etc.

LXV.—SIR WM. GODOLPHIN TO SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

Madrid Sept 24. N.S.

1676

My Lord,

After various debates among ye Ministers, and much diversity of opinion touching ye King's marriage, some voting for his neece ye Emperors only child not eight years old; others for the Emperor's mayden sister of about 24; others for ye Duke of Orleans his daughter; some for the Princess of Bavaria; and others to defer any resolution on this pointe yet awhile, for ye keeping in suspense ye minds of severall Princes whose entertainment with ye hopes of this alliance might be converted into the hopes of some usefullnesse towards ye present interests of Spaine; On ye 12th instant the King declared His choice of the first of these, commanding it to bee published in ye Councill of State, wch hath been followed by ye usual exterior demonstrations, Luminaria Bull-feasts and compliments from ye Embassadors, Councils, and most persons

of quality; but ye generality of all degrees are not able to Conceale their inward sorrow at this mariage, not onely for certain naturall disgraces in ye person of ye young Arch-Dutchesse, wch either they know truly, or their discontents have imagined, and are said to be such as time will augment, but chiefly for ye defect wch time only can cure, ye tendernesse of Her age, unapt yet for many years to supply the chief necessity of the Crowne, such a succession as may not be disputed, but prevent ye civill calamities wch threaten ye monarchy and indeed a generall commotione of Christendom in case the King should die with[out] issue. These thoughts affect ye wiser sort with deeper Resentments that while ye publick tranquillity dependeth on ye slender thread of this life, and ye succession hee may be able to give, their King now 15 years old, should yett waite so long for the consumation of his marriage, and ye ardour of his youth exposed in ye meane time to bee mispent on meaner employment wch would be hard to hinder in a Spanish nature though hee were not a monarch amidst such variety of choice as He may command for his pleasures. But those who voted for this match seeme to have surrenderd up their private judgment to ye Queen's passionate desire of it, and that passion in her Majty to have been guided not so much by a due provision for ye urgency of State as for her own conservation in the absolute government wch shee enjoyeth from a totall resignation of the King to her will, And from whence shee imagined nothing would sooner degrade Her than a foreigne Queen in ye King's bosome independent on Her, when the love to his wife might come to be too strong for ye reverence to his mother.

This hath been so remarkable a Council and may have such influence on future affairs as I could not avoid giving to yr Excy this brieve account remaining ever my Lord, etc.

LXVI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO MR THINN¹, OR THYNNE

Dublin Castle

Dec 9. 1676

As to ye present guard of Battle Axes, they are indeed so indecent, as tis a shame to see them; they had once buffe coats, but it was so many years ago, as they being all worne out and spoiled, they are now in coates of different colours, and these so very coarse and ragged, as when I stirr out it lookes as if I were rather attended by a company of Bayliffs than a guard; I am sure tis not for his Maties dignity, yt his Leiu^t whoever hee bee should bee in so ill an Equipage; but as for myselfe I am absolutely indifferent in ye thing, further than as it is decent, and for his Majesties honour . . .

LXVII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR HENRY CAPEL.

Dublin Castle Dec. 9 1676

The delay abt ye coats of ye guards and ye objections ye Ld Treasurer may have thereunto I am confident proceeds purely out of peevishenesse, and I am apt to think his L^p will hinder it, and it may bee ye rather because I did not write to him upon this subject: The truth is, I have writt to him I think Twice or Thrice upon some particulars, and in one of my letters some civill kind of complement, but his L^p is not pleasd ever to answer either by himselfe or any of his secretarys; so as we are at this pause; If I doe write to him, hee will not answer mee, and if I doe not write he will stop anything I doe propose. And if you remember when I was in England I shewd you an instance of some Letters, wch 2 or 3 years ago, I had writt to his L^p in businesse that very much imported his Maties service, and I was above four months before I could gett one word of answer from him, soe as I do not look upon it as very strange yt hee should now think scorne to write to mee; but if he imagines to doe any little act of Revenge in this of hindering these guards,

¹ Henry Frederick Thynne, one of the Clerks to the Privy Council.

He will be much deceived, for I value it not one straw whether there bee any such guards or no, but I am sure tis very indecent yt ye Lieut^{nt} should bee attended with such a ragged sort of people as now I am, and his Mat^{ie} hath ye dishonour of it . . .

LXVIII.—THE EARL OF ANGLESEY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

London Dec. 9. 1676

May it please your Ex^{cy}

His Mat^{ys} fleet for Virginia under the command of Sir John Berry¹ and the 1000 men whereof 500 of the guards and the rest raised commanded all by Coll. Jefferies² who is to be governour instead of Sir William Berkley³ are all faire on their way thither: but the ill newes is come that Bacon⁴ and his crew have burnt James Towne, the chief place of the colony, taken Sir W^m Chichley⁵ prisoner and driven Sir W^m Berkley the second time to Acamack I apprehend his Matie's forces will find things there in ill condition.

Mr Baker⁶ and others who had agreed for ye Excise here are falln of nott being able to advance the money promised.

The French proceed with unexpected successe in Sicily wch alarums England much, but our King hath the French promises the generall peace shall not stick for want of ye surrender thereof.

I heare ye French King hath executed at Paris one that had a hand in the murder of the servant of our Ambassador.

Sir Ellis Leighton⁷ stole away in a disguise from Plimouth and is arrived at Bourdeaux in France.

¹ Admiral Sir John Berry, Knighted 1672 for services at the battle of Solebay, d. 1690.

² Captain Herbert Jeffreys. *See Calendar of State Papers, Dom.*, 1676-7, p. 354.

³ Governor of Virginia 1641, deprived by Parliament and reinstated at the Restoration, returned to England and died in 1677.

⁴ Nathaniel Bacon. *Ibid.*, p. 216 and passim.

⁵ Sir Henry, not William Chichley. *Ibid.*, p. 353.

⁶ John Baker. *See Calendar of Treasury Books*, 1676-9, p. 86 and passim. Accused of taking gratuities, etc. *See Calendar of S. P. Dom.*, 1676-7, pp. 349 and passim.

⁷ Sir Elisha Leighton, Sec. to Lord Lieutenant 1670, Recorder of Dublin 1672. Accused of taking gratuities, etc., *see Calendar of S. P. Dom.* 1676-77, p. 349 and passim.

The parliament is certainly to sitt the 15th of February the day tis prorogued to.

The Countess Dowager of Manchester¹ dyed this week much lamented.

The Spannish and Dutch Embassadors here by their late memorialls reflect upon his Mat^{ys} mediation and have thereby given him offence how farre it may interrupt or delay the mediation I cannot tell.

The Danes proceed against ye Swedes with great vigour and success.

Here are deputies to his Mat^y arrived from New England where they have subdued their enemyes and have now sent to testifye their allegiance to his Mat^y and to defend themselves against all calumnyes and accusations.

Your Ex^{cy} will receive this poast a letter from his Mat^y concerning the Duke of Monmouth's sister having a pension of 600^{ss} a yeare and his Royal H^s hath given order for a letter to Sir W^m Talbot about Sir Theophilus Jones . . . it will set his Mat^y much at ease to have her settled wch makes mee the forwarder to interpose with yr Ex^{cy} for your favour and dispatch in both cases . . .

LXIX.—THE EARL OF ORRERY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Dec. 15. 1676

[After giving notice of the murder at Cork Orrery encloses the following account of it.]

On Sunday the 10th day of this Instant Dec^r Mr John Walsh who that day came from Mallow to Charleville gave me ye ensuing account of ye murder committed ye Thursday night before on one Miller and his family at six mile water between Cork and Mallow viz that on Saturday ye 9th Instant as ye said Walsh was coming from Cork he met at ye s^d 6 mile water one Mr Stratford ye Coroner who had been there taking an Inquisition concerning ye same, and he told him yt it appeared before him that three Irish men had been drinking and ranting for two daies together in a house of

¹ The 5th wife of Edward 2nd Earl of Manchester and Parliamentary General, who died May 5, 1671, and who was Lord Chamberlain till his death.

Entertainment neer ye sd Millers house and on thursday ye 7th instant they went to ye sd Millers house that that night ye said Millers house was burnt and ye sd Miller, his wife, his child, his man servant and his maid servant all burnt in it. That when they searched for ye dead bodyes they found ye bones of ye sd Miller neer his bed, his wifes bones neer ye door and ye serv^{ts} and child in other places, that they found two of ye spitts burnt and the woman's keyes wch she alwaiss wore in a ring together at her girdle in ye respective locks to wch they did belong. Whereupon by ye Inquest it was found murder and not at all doubted but those three Irish men were ye actors of it.

LXX.—MR. W. HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Grafton Park 17 Dec. 1676

May it please yr Excellency.

At my last being in Towne I resolved then to have given your Excellency an account of *ye affairs there*, but Sir H. Capell told me that he intended about Xmas *to send over one for that purpose*, and that hee should *call on mee* ——— hearing no further least *Ld Lieut^{nt}* should think me unmindful of his commands I resolved to *delay it no longer*. Its a hard matter for any man to *judge what Duke and Treasurer designs*, but in generall to *keepe their power at any rate*. They add sorrow daily with so many rubbs, and *Treasurer* lyes under such *apparent necessities* and King so alarmed both unexpected *accidents* that most *sober men* think that if *Parlm^t* *proceeds wisely King will harken to any reasonable thing* but sitting till a *Tryall be over whether they can gett mony or no* and that at *liberty*; wch I believe will be very *hard for them to doe*. I hear from good hands that ye Lords are *buissy and preparing matters* to prove the dissolution of *Parlm^t* and that they will *deny any conference with us* and laye ye *sinn of corruption to our charge* and that we are unfitt to *represent ye Commons of England*

If so certainly that may produce a terrible breach for *though we would gladly be dissolved, but not by ye Lords nor at their pleasure* There is little probabily I thank God of a *peace which will give us longer*

time to bee wiser and see our danger; ill news from Virginia and New England¹ doth not only alarm us but extreemly abate ye customs so yt notwithstanding all ye shifts Treasurer can make this Parliament or another must sitt; Yr good friend Ranela is very ill, and this last night I hear from one who saw him within two days that hee will hardly escape having any hearing left. I wish all such men such ends; I have lately bought a house in London and intend ye beginning of February to goe up theither for 3 or 4 months. If I can be any wayes serviceable to yr Excellency there I will endeavour it to ye utmost of my power being with all sincerity, etc., etc.

LXXI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR HENRY CAPEL.

Dublin Castle Jan 13. 7⁶

Dear Brother

After I had writt my other L^r Coll Pearsen delivered yrs wherein you mention a good deale concerning ye Ld Ranela's undertaking and ye discourse you had with my Ld of Arlington thereupon, and ye advice that I should see what I could propose as a fund to answer ye defects of ye Ld Ranela's performances, and ye arrears to ye Army etc. All that his Ma^{ty} hath in this Kingdome is already granted for six years from this last Christmas to ye present Farmers, ye words of ye grant being all ye Revenue both certain and casuall, ordinary and extraordinary; As for ye old Arrears ye Ld Ranela hath them within his Contract, so as no man living can tell what to propose on such a subject: I am not of opinion that ye Ld Ranela's undertaking was so wild a thing as some men have imagined for I am very confident had it faln into good hands it might have bin justly and honestly performed, and I believe that they have received money enough, nay perhaps more than enough, to discharge all ye paym^{ts} they undertook; what they have done with that money is a secrett among themselves; but large summs I presume have been distributed at Court²; much of ye money they have

¹ See Letter LXVIII.

² "He had undertaken to furnish the King with money, for the building of Windsor, out of the revenue of Ireland, and it was believed the Duchess of Portsmouth had a great yearly pension out of his office." Burnet's *Hist. of His Own Time*, p. 154.

received hath been by collectors of their owne; so as I shall never come to know what all these summs are, but as I am persuaded they are sufficient to discharge their undertaking, so are many others, and those very knowing men of ye same mind: Sir Cy Wyche can discourse this matter at large with you, who is verst in all ye particulars relating thereunto.

I am, etc.

LXXII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE KING.

May it please yr Mat^y

Having sent over Sir Cyrill Wyche to attend yr Majesties service in Parlm^t who being sufficiently instructed to give yr Mat^y a full account of all ye affairs in this Kingdom T'will be unnecessary by this Letter to trouble yr Mat^y with ye particulars. Two things have principally employd my time here since my last kissing yr Mat^y's hands; The ascertaining ye Quit rents by reducing those wch are upon barren lands, and the settling ye province of Conaght, both wch will I doubt not turne to acct for your Mat^y's service: For ye first of them will render that Revenue for ever after solvent, And ye latter as it is a work of great Justice and Charity, and will relieve many poor familys, who have for divers years bin kept out of their estate, so will it also in some proportion improve yr Mat^y's Revenue by bringing many Quitt Rents into charge, wch could not be done till ye lands were passt in patent: In both these as also in all other matters Sir Cyrill Wyche, when yr Mat^y shall please to allow him ye opportunity will give yr Mat^y a relacon of ye methods of my proceedings, and ye measures I take in all, wherein I hope yr Mat^y will receive that satisfaction as may bee a further confirmation of ye truth and reallity, wherein I desire to appear in all humility Yr Mat^y's, etc., etc.

LXXIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE DUKE OF YORK.

May it please yr Higness

Sir Cyrill Wyche goeing over to attend at this next sessions in Parliament, I have commanded him to waite on yr Highness and

acquaint you with ye affairs of this Kingdome wch God bee thanked are in a very quiett posture. The Country doth sensibly improve daily and ye Farme is likely to go on very well, tho ye delays in ye dispatch of ye patent wch hinderd their principalls from coming over had put their businessesomuch back, as I fear they will be loosers this first year, yet it seems to mee very clear yt ye next will certainly repay them with advantage; for there are severall particulars both in ye customs, Excise and Hearth Money, wch ye Comm^{issrs} for ye late Farme did not discerne to bee done by Lawe, wch these men have discovered, and putt in execution, and it is certain yt if ye Revenue bee made good his Mat^y will bee at great ease for all concernments here . . .

Dublin Castle

Jan 13 7⁸

To Ye Duke.

LXXIV.—SIR CYRILL WYCHE TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

St James' Square Tuesday ye

23 Jan 7⁸

May it please your Excellency,

I came safe to London on Saturday in ye afternoone. As soone as I had fittet myselfe, I went to doe my duty to ye King and Duke when they were come from ye play, I kissed both their hands in their severall bed-chambers, and delivered yr Excell^{sies} letters. both of ym asked very kindly concerning yr Excell^s health, and said they were glad to heare of it. The King discoursed a little abt ye Settlement of Connaught, ye necessity both of it and of reducing ye Quitt Rents, and seemed well satisfied yt by these meanes both ye Quitt rents wch remained would bee better paid and yt there would bee some recompence for what should bee struck off out of Connaught, and also yt ye County would bee better settled and planted. Hee approved of yr Excell^s placing ye Proxie, and when I told him you intended to comitt it into wt hands his May^{tie} should appoint, said he could not have wished it better.

The Duke told mee he was absolutely satisfied with yr Excell^s care of his concerns there.

The same night I waited on Mr Sec. Coventry, delivered yr Excell^s letter, and had some little discourse with him, as ye time of night would permit in wch he told me yt severall letters had bin writt over about searching ye Farmers House, and securing Plunkett,¹ and yt it had made a great noise here, whereupon I gave him a short narrative of ye thing. The next day I presented myselfe to my Ld Arlington and my Ld Treasurer, with yr Excell^s letters and to Mr Sec Williamson,² and attempted to have found my Ld Chanc³ at home but could not, tho I hovered a good while there about, he staying ye night very late at ye Cabinett. my Lord Arlington told mee yt as to ye Post Office he beleevd he shuld lose it, and therefore for yt part of ye letter could doe nothing, of wch he would himselfe give you an accompt; but for ye other part concerning your Excell^s Affairs, he should allwayes bee ready to contribute his utmost, and I should bee welcome when ever I came.

My Ld Treasurer enquired of ye condition of ye Army. I told him yt as to ye ¹²/_{ms} arreares I had before sent his L^p an accompt; and yt a great part of ye ³/_{ms} pay due at ye expiracon of my L^d Ranelaghs contract was yet unpaid; but for ye growing pay since yt time, yt ye Army had received six months of it, yt ye rest would bee discharged as soon as ye Farme-rent would reach to it, and yt it was hoped yt in some time ye Rent would so overtake ye payment due upon each list, yt they might bee discharged as they grew due.

The next day was spent in waiting on my Lord Chanc: in ye morning (who spake with great civility and respect of yr Excell:.) and Sir H. Capell at Kew afterwards.

Upon wt I heard from Mr Sec⁴, and from 2 or 3 others abt ye search made after Plunkett's papers, and his being imprisoned

¹ The titular Archbishop of Armagh was committed to Dublin Castle December 6, 1679.

² Sir Joseph Williamson, a Sec. of State since 1674. According to Pepys "a pretty understanding and accomplished man, but a little conceited." Aug. 10, 1663.

³ Heneage Finch, 1st Earl of Nottingham, created Lord Chancellor 1675.

⁴ Mr Sec. Coventry.

(as twas reported) I thought it necessary to endeavour to speake with ye King about it, and acquaint him with ye matter of fact wch I did this morning. he seemed to bee well satisfied in it, and commended yr Excell^s care.

On Saturday there hapned a difference between ye Duke of Monmouth and My Ld Arlington abt their jurisdiction, ye successe of wch may have some influence upon ye question concerning giving ye Trumpeters' places in Ireland, as I think and therefore trouble you with it.

The Band of Pentioners (who are now forced to bee finer than many of ym would bee, appearing in gray camlett coates with gold lace and to keep horses for ym selves and servants) was mustered in ye Parke. Ye Duke of Monmouth seeing two Trmpeters with them, sent Mr Griffith to know how they came to attend, and being told yt 'twas by my Ld Chamberlaine's order, replied, my Ld had not considered of wt he had done, and presently sent Mr Griffith back with commands to lay ym by ye heels. My Ld Chamberlaine hearingit, said Mr Griffith had done an insolent thing, and, it is said, sent to release them. They have been ancient servants in ye King's horse, and constantly sworne into their places by ye Ld Chamberlain, and alwayes formerly under his Jurisdiction; but being now listed and paid in ye King's guards, ye Duke as Captain challengeth ye sole command of them.

This weighty controversie must bee heard and determined by ye King himselfe.

Your Excell^s most humble servant.

LXXV.—THE EARL OF CASTELHAVEN¹ TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Madride the 14th of Ianuarie 1677

My Lorde

I have bin here some 15 or 16 daies; hoping to have gained some assistance for the gasping lowe countries; but the animosities amongst the grandees are at such a height, that they looke more

¹ James Touchet, eldest son of the notorious Earl.

at subduing one the other, then the serving flanders; all people here are at a gaze; no dispatches; everie one furnishing their houses with corne and other provisions as if they feared a siege; Don John¹ hath bin wrighten for both by King² and Queene,³ and he is coming but at the heade of 5 or 6000 men, accompanied with these grandees, and others that have bin banished some time since from the Courte and this towne. Walansuale who was declared favourite is retired to the Scuviale 7 or 8 leagues hence, a house of pleasure of the Kings; 'tis sayed that the guards are increased here and canone with other provisions of war drawne into the Palace; Now whether Don John will be resisted or not is not knowne; by this yr Ex^{ce} may see how faire the game playes for the King of France, the intire conqueste of flanders lyes open before him; and I know not how he can be resisted there being no armie, and it may be doubted that without a stroke striking all the greate townes will submit unto him; and whether Holland will not soon followe I cannot tell, or at least trukle under him, being exhausted and weerie of war; how far England may be concerned in this overgrowth of the French Empire yr Ex^{ce} is better able to judge than I. I will venture no farther into the matter, but (in shorte) the consequence makes me tremble.

LXXVI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO MR. SECRETARY COVENTRY.

Dublin Castle Feb. 6 7^y.

Sir,

I have lately received an account from the Bishop of Killala⁴ concerning some Scotch preachers who have come into that Diocesse. Hee writes mee word hee apprehended one of them his name is Hendry and abt him found a paper wch contains in my apprehension ye most Treasonous practices imaginable I herewith send you a transcript of ye sd paper. The Bishop of

¹ Natural son of Philip IV and brother of the King. He died in 1679.² Charles II, 1665-1700.³ The Queen Regent, Marie Anne, daughter of Ferdinand III of Austria.⁴ Thomas Otway, whose letter LXXVI contains more particulars.

Killala is a very pious, vertuous, and charitable man, but I fear not much acquainted with ye businesse of ye world. Hee writes mee word he had apprehended this man and with him found this paper of wch hee sent me a copy, but I cannot understand by his letter whether ye man were committed or no, and I doe very much fear yt hee may bee gott away; I thought fitt to keepe ye matter secret and not communicate it to our numerous privy Councill, but have taken ye advice of my Lord Chancellor, and him only therein: I have sent a discreet person with all diligence to search after ye man in case they omitted to take him.

You may bee pleased to remember yt some months since I acquainted you with an information I had received yt ye old Covenant had bin newly revived and administered in severall of ye Corporations of some parts of ye County of Londonderry; I could never attaine to any prooff of ye thing, so true are ye brethren one to another, but by ye circumstance I am pretty confident yt it was done, so as you may well judge what a watchful eye ought to be had over these people, but this paper is a thing so pestilent and villanous as all severity is fitt to bee used to ye Author of it. There are severall other passages wch I need not lengthen my Letter with, as where this Hendry and some other of his companions doe usually resort, who the persons are they are recommended unto from ye brethren, with divers other circumstantiall points wch may bee of very good use in finding out ye root of ye matter and you may assure his Mat^y yt it shall bee pursued with all industry imaginable.

[The paper referred to follows.—ED.]

That the person invested with power may be resisted and yet God's Ordinance not violated, is clear from that here followeth. [Various instances from Scripture are then given.—ED.]

LXXVII.—THE BISHOP OF KILLALA, ETC., TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Jan 22 7^e

May it please yr Excellency,

Though we are farre from yr Excellencie's eye yet we are nearre yr care, wch wee with all thankfulness acknowledge in yr Excellencies appointing us a Marshall to repress the insolence of the Tories. I am forced to bee a petitioner to yr excellency for the few Protestants of these parts, that they may be saved from Scotch Presbyters who ramble up and down to debauch the people in their Religion and Loyalty, wch are so much more dangerous than Tories as our souls are more precious than our goods. It seems the Scotts in Ulster have their classes (or as Hugh Peters¹ more aptly deciphered them their C L Asses) who like the Jesuits have their Missions to gain people to the Presbytery, as they to the Papacy. Two of these Geneva Calves (Clevelands (?) Bulls² is too big a Title for these Sucking Presbyters) were lately sent stragling into these parts, one named Hendry³ of Graystowne in ye County of Donegall, the other Halliday⁴ of Rapho. Hendry held forth within two miles of mee to the great perill of ye Apron:strings wch were much endangered by the deep sighs of the Wastwheres. At this distance from the scene of affairs I know not what Toleration His Majesty allows them, but I was confident no part of it permitts them to wander up and down to pervert his subjects; whereupon I apprehended Hendry, and found about him many scandalous papers against Prelacy, the Common Prayer, and ceremonies, wch I thought unworthy of your Excellencies view being but their old crambo. I found one seditious paper against his Majesty wch I have with a letter, likewise found with him, sent to yr Excellency,

¹ Cromwell's notorious Chaplain, executed at the Restoration, a curious source for Episcopal quotation.

² Cleveland, the poet, calls Stephen Marshall, "that Geneva Bull." Ed. 1687, p. 37. I am indebted to Professor Firth for this.—ED.

³ Robert Hendry was minister of Carrickfergus and became Minister of Glenluce in 1689. Scott's *Fasti*, i, 65, 579, 647; also Witherow's *Memorials*.

⁴ Samuel Halliday was Minister successively of three congregations in Scotland, viz. Dunscore, Drysdale and New North Edinburgh—Scott's *Fasti*, i, 766.

by wch your Excellency will see some of their Employers, Agents, and Harbourers, with their pocket Instructions. They ride up and down ye country like martiall Evangelists with sword and pistolls, as if they came not to prate down; but storm our Religion. They are impudent beyond sufferance. Hendry after hee had left mee told his silly Herd, that hee would not only come to the Assizes, but preach there. Halliday told the minister who questioned him for his Conventicle in his Parish that he might preach any where, and that hee would goe to Dublin and preach in yr Excellencie's Ears. I know I shall bee railed at lustily for what I have done, but let them talk on, I will take care that they shall never justly charge mee for betraying Episcopacy to Presbytery, or the English Interest to the Scotts and the ruin of both which is aimed at by this restless faction. I most humbly beg yr Excellencie's commaunds for prosecuting of Hendry, if yr Excellency thinks it fitt, and to know whether I may not indite him for sedition for his rambling Preaching contrary to Law, and for his seditious papers. In all humility, etc., etc.

THO: KILLALA
AND ACHONRY.

[The following letter was enclosed.—ED.]

LXXVII.—

Reverend and deare Sir,

I could not gett ocacion an answer from Mr Vaux as to your desire so soon to get as you desired; but I partly know that country as well as hee, this is a very short day for those godly men to take such a journey in hand, saving your own wisdome it had been better advised that they should have gone about the beginning of March, its a sad matter for godly men to trust their poor fraile tabernacles in such a season of the yeere to goe among a people that is so little acquainted with pure ordinances, (but for this I passe) For ye way they have to goe I make no great doubt but they will be guided, the first stage is Mr Crawford in Sligo¹; if they gett employment there itt is well, but then foure miles beyond Sligo they must part at a

¹ The borough of Sligo is 26 miles E. of Killala, the Bishop's see.

place they call Ballisedarah, one of them to goe to Tirreragh, where hee will bee kindly welcomed by a gentleman that lives in a place called Donaghoy, L^t Levan by name, hee was once married upon [*sic*] a sister of Mrs Sempils, and hee will direct him to this Francis Alexander whose letter I have here sent you; but for the other that goes to the County of Roscomon, hee hath forty miles to go from Sligo before hee comes to ye people that look for a visit, he must have direction from Mr Crawford where hee shall lodge ye first night of his journey, but ye next night hee will reach ye place where hee will bee welcomed in ye County of Roscommon in a place they call Lisnavel, where a very discreet man dwels that they call Corporall Thomas Michel, who will order his dyet there, its hard by ye place where ye gentlewoman lives that will kindly entertaine him, the way is very good in this road if he can gett any company, wch is all ye account that I can give, desiring the good Lord to be with them in their journey. I have a great cold wch keeps mee in a feaver otherwise I had seen you myself, this is all with my hearty love remembered to you and yours

I remain Sir

Your most obliged servant

JOHN BOYD

December: 2: 1676.

Superscribed

For Mr Robert Campbell

Minister of ye Gospell at

Raigh these

Copia vera

THOS: KILLALA AND ACHONRY.

LXXIX.—[This paper follows.—ED.]

About the middle of July last past in the year 1676 James Johnston in the parish of Hollywood, did aske me George Wallace minister of the same, If I heard any newes, I answered I heard none strange, he replyed, then I will Tell you newes, I said pray which be they: he sayd, the last Sunday I heard one Mr Gilbert

Kennedy who, in his prayer, had this expression, that God would be with those persons that is now about to adventure their lyves for the Gospell, and he inquiring the sense of this expression was informed that the reason of it was that the Bishops in Scotland had complained to the King's Majesty about the Presbyterian Conventicles in privat houses and that his Majesty answered, he would prevent that by sending Letters unto his Counsell of Scotland to grant them libertie to build publick meeting houses, as they had in Ireland, and that the letter of the King's was concealed, upon which some did aventure their lives to petition the King, whom they feared should not live long to grant such libertie

G. WALLACE.

LXXX.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE BISHOP OF KILLALA.

Dublin Castle Feb 6. 1676

My Lord,

T was ye 3rd of this month ere I received yrs of ye 23rd of Jan wherein you give mee an account of Hendry and Holyday Two Scotch preachers who have come into ye country: By ye enclosed papers I looke upon them as very dangerous persons and I doe hope they are both in custody; but if they are not and doe still remaine neer you I would bee glad yr L^p tooke some course to have them secured, only with this condition yt Hendry bee first taken, and ye other not lookt after till hee be safe: I have dispatcht away a servant to you in order to their bringing up; who I hope will be with you neer as soon as this Letter; If these persons have left that Country where you are, my servant hath directions what course to take and will receive yr L^{ps} advice for his proceedings; This Letter of mine may serve for a sufficient warr^t to apprehend ye sd Hendry and Holyday and I desire yt all care imaginable may bee used to prevent any escape. I am, etc.

LXXXI.—MR SECRETARY COVENTRY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Whitehall Feb. 13 167 $\frac{5}{7}$ My L,^d

Since my last to yr Excel^{cy}, I have r^d yours of the 6 of Feb, also the enclosed papers found in the Scotch minister's pockett. I should bee very sorry if the B. should have lett the man goe, for lett his charity be what it will t'will not bee enough in that case to cover either the minister's sinne or the B's Folly.

His Ma^{ty} approveth of your Exc^{lley}'s conduct very well and com-mandeth mee to tell you that if you cann seize him again your Exc^{lcy} should upon good consultation taken with those of his Mate^{ys} Councell learned in the law prosecute him with the utmost severity, so many of these principles have beene of late divulged avowed by no author yt it is very prudentiall to make an example of the first we canne lay hold on that men may understand what kind of crime it is . . .

LXXXII.—MR MICH. EAST TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Killalla Feb. 13th 167 $\frac{6}{7}$

May it please your Excellency,

I came hither on Sunday night about 7 and find my Lord has only taken 100^{lbs} security for Hendry's appearance at the next Assizes, and so dismiss him, but says hee may be very easily taken, for hee was so little concerned at the Bp^s proceeding against him that hee told his Ldps hee would come hither again about a month hence, and not only soe but hee would goe to Dublin, and preach under yr Ex^{celles} nose, Now if this arrogant saying was not used for his more easy escape (which I am apt to feare) t'will bee no difficulty to secure him I will use all possible meanes to take both him and Hollyday. Finding there was no troop nearer the place where these men reside than Captain Trelawney's at the Boyle I ordered so many men (as yr Excel^{cy}'s Warrant impowers mee to have) to meet mee on Wednesday next at Sligoe, being twenty

miles from their quarters, and the direct rode from hence to Donegall) and this my Ld Killalla approves on as the best course I could take, for, I am not only to passe through a country pestered with Tories but t'is also much better to bee backed with some other strength than wholly to trust to what may bee raised where such men dwell.

The weather is extreame bad and there is so much snow fallen since I came hither that no guide dares undertake to direct mee so that I cannot reach Sligoe so soon as I intended, but there is now a great thaw, and if it continue I hope to bee there by Thursday night. As I shall proceed herein I will presume to give yr Ex^{cie} an Acco^t in the mean time I humbly beg pardon for this boldnesse, and with all submission subscribe myself, etc., etc.

LXXXIII.—SIR CYRIL WYCHE TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

St James Square Saturday 17 Feb. 7th.

May it please your Excellency,

I had yesterday audience of ye King in wch I acquainted him with ye necessity of some speedy care abt ye Dec^{br} pay: sett out to him ye condition ye army was in as to their severall arreares, and ye danger yt might happen if by any ill accident (as yt lately at Kinsale) or ill affected people ye soldiers' discontents should bee heightened to mutiny at a time when there seemed to be reason to apprehend disquiett in ye North of Ireland. I told him what yr Excell^{cie} had lately discovered there (of which it seems Mr Sec had before informed him). His Maj^{esty} said he was very sensible of ye necessity, and as soone as he had an answer from my Lord Ranelagh to ye Letre of yr Excell^{cy} abt ye December pay, wch Mr Secr produced, and of wch hee had ordered a copy should bee sent him, care should bee forthwith taken of it.

I likewise told his Maj^{ty} how requisite it was now for his service yt ye officers of ye army should bee remanded out of England to their severall charges, all but such whose absence could not bee dispensed with: his Maj^{ty} bid mee bring him a list of these

officers wch are in England, and hee would looke upon it, and then tell mee who were fitt to be indulgd and for ye rest hee would have ym repaire to their commands.

I will carry him yr List I brought to town with me very speedily, and receive his orders upon it, when I will also move him against letters for Licences.

In speaking abt ye December pay, and my Ld Ranelagh's failing of his contract and promise to discharge it long agoe, I tooke occasion to inform ye King abt ye accompt, how often yr Excell^{cy} had pressed it and how yt wch ye Commis^{rs} had at last brought in was but for halfe a yeare, wherein ye great Paym^{ts} they owed would not appear, not being due till ye Christmas following, by wch artifice his May^{tie} might bee mislead not seeing ye true state of ye whole accompt. He answered yt when ye other half yeares accompt was brought in, yet still they yt were to state it must begin with this first, being in order of time before ye other: And therefore if they did so now, before ye other were brought in, they would bee soe much ye forwarder, and readier to goe on with ye other when they received itt.

While I was discoursing about recalling ye Officers to their duties, his Maj told mee he had heard yr Excell^{cy} had lately given a Commission for a Quarter Master's place to a French barber,¹ who, he beleevd, by his profession could not have been a soldier. I answered yt yr Excell^{cy} used all care possible in disposing whenever a military command fell vacant and yt no consideration whatever swayed with you beyond ye fitnessse of ye person; yt as for ye man his Maj spoke of, he had served yr Excell^{cy} a good while and was a man very well qualified for ye employment, and it was equally for his Maj^{ties} service to breed up soldiers as to prefer them. Yr Excell^{cy} may see by this ye inclinations of some persons and how glad they are of any little thing yt is best capable of beeng misrepresented.

The endeavours to prove ye Parlt dissolved or not well prorogued have mett with ill successe. foure Lds are sent to ye Tower—Ye debate held long whether they should withdraw. At last it being

¹ Mr Biscay, *see* p. 104.

noted that they should. Ye D of Bucks tooke occasion to retire, and left word hee was not well. Ye other 3 were severally called in, and in their places required to ask pardon of ye King, and ye house, wch they refusing to doe, were for their contempt in not submitting to ye censure of ye house commanded to ye barn upon their knees, and there received their sentence of being sent prisoners to ye Tower upon wch my Ld Salisbury, and my Ld Shaftsbury desired they might have their own cookes and my Ld Wharton¹ would afterwards have asked pardon but was not admitted. Ye Black rod was sent after ye D of Bucks who could not bee found till this morning when hee presented himselfe at ye house in his place, and was from thence ordered to ye Barr as ye rest, and sent to ye Tower.

In ye house of Commons ye question was more lightly touched. Ye Dissolution was instantly raised, but ye doubt whether it were a prorogation or an adjournment seemed to bee moved as matter worthy a serious debate, it putt off upon ye first day ye reading a Bill according to custome, to open ye session withall, because it having bin at ye last meeting twice reade and committed, ye reading it now as an originall bill would have determined ye question in favour of ye Prorogation. Ye same reason differed ye naming ye Committee of Priviledges, and such like customary things at ye beginning of every Sessions. Yet still ye house was very cautious not to have any doubt of this kind appeare upon their bookes, and therefore with a great consent, but no order, agreed that this day ye debate should bee entertained, when, contrary to all expectations those who proposed the businesse would not proceed, tho ye house were willing to enter into ye debate, without an expresse order. those who otherwise were willing to heare, were yet unwilling to countenance ye doubt so farr; and therefore proposed as a way more tacitely to determine ye question yt ye question should bee whether they should now proceed to ye settling their Committees, and by others ye previous question, that is whether yt question should bee now putt, was contended for, ye comming to these questions spent

¹ 4th Baron Wharton, 1613-96, Parliamentarian Soldier and Statesman.

many houres, and it was past five before it was carried in ye affirmative upon ye division 193 were for putting ye question and 142 against it.

I am, etc., etc.

LXXXIV.—VISCOUNT MASSERENE¹ TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Antrim Feb. 27. 1678

May it please yr Excellency.

Among ye affaires of greater import I must presume to acquaint yr Ex^{cy} with ye killing of one of ye Tories of ye County of London Derry, wch how little and inconsiderable in itselfe will in a great measure quiet divers, in yt part of ye country where he used to commit robberyes, for ye most part alone; the rest not trusting this rogue, nor he of late reposing any confidence in ym, wch when by my endeavours I could at any time compasse; I ever found success in taking some of ym. And at present ye 2 O Neals (who accompanied this fellow, called Phelemy=fearah O Dogherty) in the last Robbery committed in ye County of Derry; have separated from him, ye former two in hopes of pardon, and he's played least in sight a great while, till yesterday I had notice of a house where he use to be, and was of late seene there, and this day as I was advising with a Justice how best to send privately to that house to surprise him; 4 or 5 men came hither to me with his head in a bag wch they had cutt off yesterday; Hee having fled and first broke out of ye wall of a house where they found him; But at this time his followers soone became master of him; One of them making more speed than the rest had a halfe Pyke in his hand, wch weapon clearly mastered ye Torye who had throwne away his fire-armes and was stript having only his sword and heeles to trust to, so yt there needed no helpe of ym yt were coming to assist; But one man who was before ye rest with the halfe Pike killed him without ye helpe of his fellows, and ye Tory did what he could, rather better than those use to do when they are encoun-

¹ Sir John Skeffington, Bart, succeeded as 2nd Viscount in 1665, died 1695.

tered. I have (upon ye information of ye next Justice of ye Peace, one Mr Thom^s Church who so farr as I can understand was very careful in sending men out to doe this service) given a certificate to ye Sheriffs of Londonderry County to pay these men who prosecuted and killed him in this manner (severall shots missing as he endeavoured his escape and would not yield) yt according to yr Excell^{ces} and Councells proclamation for a reward from ye Countys they raise it as directed; and if ye Sheriffs were not so backward, ye County would be more forward in pursuing ym.

I beg your Excell^{ces} pardon for this trouble and humbly desire at yr Ldships conveniency yt ye please to signify yr Exc^{ys} pleasure about my Quit Rent.

I am, etc.

LXXXV.—SIR CYRIL WYCHE TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

St James Square Saturday 10 March 7⁶

May it please your Excellency,

Here are 2 *partys* now *contend* to *goe* for *Ireland* each by wt I find is able to *obstruct* ye other and by consequence neither likely to *obtaine*. Ormond labours hard for himselfe, but is hinderd by *Ranelagh* on ye other hand *Ran* drives on a designe to have *D. Mon* declared *Lieut* and *Conway* goe as *Deputy*. Ye *Cabal* meets often at *Ran's* house (who of late has been pretty well but is now fallen into a violent relapse) *D. Mon* himself has bin there about it, and *Sir Thomas Armstrong*¹ almost daily, but *Orm* for one reason and as I guess *Ran* for another are in all probability *able* to prevent it. so yt I believe this equall poise and ye not finding a third person in whom ye *party* can *confide* (for *E. Sunderland* (if I am not much deceived and I thinke I am not) is not of sufficient esteeme with them yt can influence this affaire) may contribute very much to *your Ex^{ces} stay*. *King* being spoken to about *Conway* answered you know my mind well enough in yt matter it shall never bee. this

¹ Monmouth's confidential servant who was executed a little later for his complicity in the Rye House Plot.

last passage I had from *E Longford*¹ who, tho he would not tell mee to whom it was said, gave such signes that I guessed it was to *Orm*.

I have had audience of ye King about some things in yr Excell^{ces} letters. I shewed him, as he had commanded, ye list of absent officers in England, he read thee names over and gave this direction that those who were not otherwise employed in his service, unlesse yr Excell. saw reason to indulge some particular persons should returne to their commands. I tooke occasion to shew him ye inconvenience of sending letters to command licence for absence and humbly desired his Maj^{ty} would not permit ye trouble to bee given him hereafter; to wch he answered he would not.

When I opened to him Mr Biscay's² case, and read ye part of yr Excell^{ys} letter yt relates to it, and ye method used in matters of yt kind, and sett out to him ye humble thanks of yr Excell^{co} returned his Maj^{ty} for affording you the opportunity of giving him full satisfaction even in ye smallest particulars, he read ye MusterMaster's certificate himselfe and (with some little alteration of his look to a more gracious smile) said he was very well satisfied both in Biscay's preferment, and ye method used by yr Excell^{ncy} for supplying ye footguards with such as might be capable of commands.

After this I presumed to speake about my Ld Chief Justice Booth³ and ye ill offices yt hee had reason to feare might have been done him to his Maj: and read out of yr Excll: letter ye character you were pleased to give him. Ye King's answer was as neere as I can remember it, in these words. It is very well, I am glad to heare it, but what I heard of him was only this yt hee was very much inclined to Presbytery.

I told his Maj^{ty} that I had some time bin at Dublin and for ought I ever heard or observed, hee was a very good sonne of ye Church of England. At last I humbly begged pardon if I again troubled his Maj: about ye Dec: pay. I pressed ye thing from ye wants and growing discontent of ye Army, and frequent fresh alarms

¹ "8th of July, came to dine with me my Lord Longford, Treasurer of Ireland, nephew to that learned gentleman My Lord Aungier"—Evelyn, July 8, 1678.

² This appointment had been ridiculed because Mr Biscay had been a barber.

³ Sir Robert Booth, Chief Justice of Common Pleas 1669 and of King's Bench 1679, Knighted 1668.

about it, and ye great danger ye peace of ye Kingdome was in, if some speedy course were not taken wch I confirmed to his Maj: out of yr Excell: and my Ld Orrery's letter, part of both wch I read. Ye King said he saw ye necessity of doing something quickly, and asked mee what I could propose. I answered yt ye finding ye money was my Lord Ranelagh's businesse, who was bound to it both by ye contract in his deed, and promise upon his Maj: having lent him 24,000^{lbs} for this onely reason. Yet that I could offer to his Maj: something wch I thought might bee for his service wch was that ye Ballance upon ye late Farmer's accompt might bee immediately imployed to this use: and so opened ye thing to him. He was pleased to reply that he thought it a very good course and ordered mee to goe speak to my Ld Treasurer about it. I tooke leave to adde that tho my Lord Ranelagh I heard was relapsed yet ye business was so pressing yt it ought not to depend upon his health. Yt when hee was well, ye receipts and payments were managed by other hands and yt this thing was of yt nature yt it neither needed, nor would I feared stay for his recovery. Ye King answered, No, No, it must not bee delayed . . .

The temper of both houses seems to be mightily altered since ye last sessions. All occasions of difference are by ye major part of each house studiously avoided. Severall Publique bills are in both places on ye anvill and to ye six hundred thousand pd already voted there is likely to be added ye continuance of ye additional excise for 3 years longer. that is ye time ye Sec: moved for and I beleve (I speake my guesses onely upon my observation of ye present disposition) may bee obtained) Monday is appointed for ye debate so yt this session will in all probability end better than good men feared and ill men desired.

This morning in obedience to ye King's command, I waited on my Ld Treasurer. Sir H. Capell did mee ye favour to goe with mee, wee urged ye speedy payment of ye remainder of these 3 months arreares, and yt pt of ye Ballance on ye late Farmers accompt might bee this way made use of. he said they contested ye whole; and not only soe, but they insisted on it yt they would make it appear yt ye King was besides in their debt some thousands of

pounds and directed mee according to ye order of Sunday last (as hee was pleased to expresse it) to goe to my Ld Ranelagh myselfe, and bring ye King a positive answer in writing from him abt ye 24,000^{lbs} received or not received; and abt ye Dec arreares paid or not paid. Wee both told him that many of yr Excell^{ce} letters cleared both these points, both that ye 24,000^{lbs} was long since received; and that ye Dec. pay was not yet discharged, and that this was part of their contract wch all ye Kingdome knew was not performed. Hee required I should doe it and by Mr Sec Coventry's advice I did so; but could not bee admitted, tho I told his gentleman I came from ye King, for he said he was so weake in his bed yt his physician permitted him not to see his neerest relations. I will endeavour to-morrow night to push ye businesse as farr as I can . . .

LXXXVI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO MR SECRETARY COVENTRY.

Dublin Castle Feb 20/67⁶

Sir

I have received yours wch came to my hands yesterday of ye 10th and 13th of Feb this morning. I had an acct from ye person I employed to take Hendry ye Scotch preacher, formerly mentioned, wch tells me that upon giving security of 100^d to appear at ye next Assizes, ye B^p hath let him goe. Now tis said he is gone home to his owne House wch is in ye County of Donegall; The person whom I sent is gone after him and hath orders to use ye utmost endeavors imaginable to take him and I hope wee may yet have him fast tho I am much unsatisfied at ye Bishops negligence in a matter of so high consequence . . .

LXXXVII.—THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Dublin Castle Feb 24 167⁶

Sir

I have received advice by ye last from ye person whom I sent to take Hendry ye Scotch preacher formerly mentioned to

you, that he had seized him and was bringing him up with a guard. So soon as he comes I will have ye matter thoroughly examined and directions shall bee given to his Maty^s Attorney Gen^l to prosecute him according to Law. . . .

LXXXVIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR CYRIL WYCHE.

Dublin Castle March 3. 167⁸

Sir

. . . . This Russell¹ was their collector for ye supply of 7 years value in ye County of Galway, and hee did issue his warrants to collect from ye people twelve pence pr pd over and above what each man's apportionment was in this reapplotment. An original warrant for one of the divisions of that county was carried over into England by ye E. of Arran, so as ye thing if examined may bee there proved. T'is true indeed he gott a grand jury to allow this taxation of 12^d pr pd, but all men who know how easily a grand jury of this Kingdom may bee prevaild with either by a dinner, or some other ways, as likewise that no money ought to bee levied upon ye people but by virtue of an Act of Parliament can not but judge this an illegal tax: Upon this and some other like oppression on ye people we issued a proclamation to ease his Maty^s subjects from these illegal levyes of money: This proclamation was also carried over by my Ld of Arran; I wish you would diligently consider this narrative concerning Russell, and more particularly ye latter part thereof wherein you will plainly find by what vile practices ye Lord Ranela's Trustees here endeavor to circumvent us; I would bee glad yt either ye Lord Ranela were upon ye place to guide his own affaires himself or that hee would employ such persons as would carry themselves like gentlemen, for these dealings are rather like cutpurses, or like cheats than men who are fitt to bee employed in public affairs and entrusted with ye King's money. . . .

Yesterday my Lord Granard came to town and told me there had been an unhappy disorder among ye soldiers at Athlone, one of ye

¹ Patrick Russell one of the agents about whose treatment Ranelagh had petitioned. He had been imprisoned for these practices.

Ld Ranelas Company had taken up meat and drink at an ale house, and would not pay for ye same, Whereupon compl^{ts} being made by ye people of ye House to ye Officers on ye guard, a corporall was sent to sett ye matter Right and ye soldier being very rough with ye Corporall, and refusing to pay, Hee ordered some other soldiers thereby to carry him away yt hee might be committed to prison. All ye sd soldiers refused to do it, whereupon ye first soldier grew to higher terms, and drew his sword on ye Corporall, upon wch ye Corporall also drawing his, wounded ye sd soldier who would not pay ye reckning; Tis feared ye soldier may die of his hurt, being run through ye belly; I doe conceive ye fact of ye other men who refused to obey their officer to bee of a much higher nature than his who would not pay for the provisions he tooke, and have therefore ordered yt these men shall bee tried by a Court-Marshall and as high penalties as our Laws will permitt us to execute be inflicted upon them; It is to bee noted that this is one of those Companys that have not rec^d their pay due to them at Dec 15. I can offer nothing further than what I have done already in my former letters to press yt this payment may bee made good to ye Army; but truly these little mutineys and that of Kinsale formerly represented, doe alarm mee, pray God they may goe no further . . .

LXXXIX.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

Dublin Castle March 6 167⁶

My Lord,

By some Letters from my brother I doe understand how much I am obliged to yr grace for ye good character you have bin pleasd to give mee upon occasion of some debates relating to ye affairs of Ireland; I must confesse ye worke I have to doe here is made soe laborious, as I thinke would almost tire out any man and that which is most strange to mee is, yt whilst I only endeavor to bring these persons who are accountants to his Mat^y to a just and true acc^t, discouragement should bee putt upon mee therein: If I passe everything that comes before mee I shall bee blamed here-

after, and if I doe not doe it I am found fault with now; therefore let it fall out as it will I will bee just to ye Master I serve:

I have appointed Sir Cyrill Wyche, yt when yr Grace is at Leisure, hee will communicate matters to you and therefore I shall not trouble yr Grace with any long Letters but desire you will believe mee to bee with perfect truth, etc.

XC.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO CAPTAIN FITZGERALD.

Dublin Castle March 12. 167⁹

Sir,

I have received notice yt some quarrell has lately happened between ye Earle of Clanricard¹ and Collonell Dougan; if my intelligence be true they have appointed to meet on Wednesday next at Ashy, I have therefore dispatcht this messenger to you to acquaint you with ye same, and desire you will be watchfull there should bee no mischief done: If my Lord of Clanricard and Coll. Dougan or my Lord Dunkellyn² son to ye Earle of Clanricard and Coll Dougan should happen to come thither on that day, it will bee ground enough for you to make them give an account of ye reason of their meeting there and to take care yt his Maty's peace bee not broken and to doe what you find convenient to prevent their fighting upon this occasion. You may keep ye messenger who brings this till Thursday or Fryday, and then returne mee an answer upon this subject. I am, etc.

XCI.—SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Spring Gardens 20 March 167⁹

My Lord,

I have the honour of yr Excies of ye 13th Instant,³ and soe continue the series of what I first advised, 'tis true that the Commons were very shy in the address voted by them to speak of

¹ William De Burgh, 7th Earl, died 1687.

² Richard Lord Dunkellin.

³ Thanking him for his account of the proceedings in Parliament.

aiding, assisting or supplying his Maty though by some they were sufficiently advertised that their Counsel tended to Warr, and that the addresse would not look hearty if they did not speak plaine. But soe much the argument of distrust prevailed, and that example of Harry ye 7th who got aids for the warr and presently struck up a peace and remained with all those materials at his arbitrement, that for fear of a pickpocket warr they would not name assistance; but would have it understood that whatever should succeed from ye presentation of their Counsel his Maty might depend upon them to bee supported in it. And thus the matter past, it being further carried to have ye concurrence of the Lords, yet with great diffidence in many that it would not bee obtained. But ye Lords, on ye contrary, appeared herein to outdoe the Commons by adding the protection of Sicily to that of Flanders, and insinuating, in a preamble to the Commons the defect of their address in not mentioning to his Maty other assistances if ways of alliances could not prevail. The Commoners, hereupon, finding themselves outdone, take distaste that anything which relates to mony, should in any shape, begin with the Lords. And therefore being desirous that their addresse (as it was first voted) might stand they doe give some reasons for leaving out the word Sicily, and in preface thereunto (wch is sent up by Sir Henry Capel) they signify their hope which that his Maty will never doubt that they will be wanting in such assistances as the peace and safety of his Kingdomes shall require.

Hereupon the Lords acquiesce, and both Houses making their address, His Maty returned for answer that hee concurred with them in opinion, That the Spanish Netherlands ought not to bee in the power of ye French; That in conformity with their advice, Hee would doe what in him lay for the peace and safety of the Kingdome. Upon Report of this Answer to the House of Commons there was nothing said, until this day that a motion was made for a new address to his Maty for entring into a stricter Confederation with the Allies, and that this House would stand by his Maty therein, and Munday next is appointed for the debate of this matter, and it is likely that the King of ffrance's progress will make them warm and effectual in the matter.

The Spanish Envoy Extraord^y Don Bernardo D^e Salinas is fallen into his Mat^{ies} great displeasure. My Lord Candish¹ having told the Duke of Monmouth that ye said Envoy did, in open free discourse, declare unto him That when hee spoke to the King of this Address; That his Mat^y should answer in contempt of it that it was only promoted by 3 or 4 Rascals.² Soe that D. Bernardo is commanded to depart the Kingdome in 20 days, and confind to his house while he remains here. Don Bernardo denies the words, and his ffavourers are apt to say that hee will find Rewards at home for this misfortune, which befalls him for having promoted the address which sounds soe displeasing to the Favourers of ffrance.

I doe not perceive that our unpreparedness for warr does so much prevail as does the perfect dread of a General Peace. For 'tis beleevd that unquiet Nation in our neighbourhood would look with envy on the years of peace and plenty wee have lately enjoyd and turne their rage upon us; and in such event that noe place would sooner feel the blow than the Kingdom which yr Exc^{ie} governs whose miserable nakedness; and want of defence yr Exc^{ie} did sufficiently expose when you were here: And whether it bee less seasonable to revive it now, when England seems so alarmed, is matter for yr Exc^{ies} consideration. I must needs confesse who have my small fortune lying at Kinsale, that if nothing bee done in that place I cannot expect anything but ruin the very first stroke of the warr. But I have tired your Exc^{ie} and beg pardon for this presumption being with all imaginable regard and deference my Lord, etc., etc.

¹ William, Lord Cavendish, succeeded as 4th Earl of Devonshire in 1684, and was created Marquis of Hartington and Duke of Devonshire in 1694.

² See *Calendar of State Papers Dom.*, 1677-78, p. 30. For examination of Cavendish and fuller report of the words spoken, *ibid*, pp. 58, 539.

XCII.—SIR CYRIL WYCHE TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

St James Square Saturday ye 24 Mar 7⁸

May it please yr Excellency,

I find we have to do with a man yt will use all arts and subtrefuges imaginable: and wch is yett worse, will, whenever there is but a color of reason be maintained in them. One great stay of his, my Ld Treasurer, is every day more and more confirmed in ye King's esteem. Ye probable good successe of the sessions contributed very much to his advantage, and this day ye King adds another mark of his favour by giving him ye Garter, for which a Chapter was called this afternoon. As soon as Mr Sec Coventry is able to go to Councell, we shall revive ye narration lately sent, about ye delay of ye accompts wch (as yr Excell^y saw by my last)¹ was so disadvantageously read, and urge ye speedy discharge of Dec. pay as farr as it can be driven. . . .

XCIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO COLONEL STRODE.

Dublin Castle March 24 7⁸

Sir

I have recd yrs of Feb. 27 on behalf of Edward Brayenton Master of ye Lyon, wch was cast away neer Wexford.

The throwing ye man overboard, for wch ye Master and other crew of ye ship will be brought under question, is so extraordinary a thing as ye like is scarce heard of in an age: I did before ye Judges went out give a particular charge to those who were to sitt upon this cause to bee very careful of ye matter, for in case it should be found murther, all ye people of ye ship might perhaps undergoe condemnation, accessorys being by law as guilty as any others; I likewise further told them yt I did conceive there ought to be clear prooff made ye person was dead, wch would bee difficult to know in regard they sett him out upon a Float made of casks, and gave him some provisions, so as tis not impossible but hee might bee driven in shore, and besides it ought to bee considered

¹ Letter LXXXIV.

yt men in ye despaire they were in by reason of ye terror of ye storme were not themselves, but might doe extravagant things like madmen, and yt I did not apprehend there was anything of malice in ye case, but their folly and distraction prompted them to doe as they have done so as I am confident ye Judges will bee very tender, and not execute any till I have ye matter stated to mee. I cannot give you a full answer to your letter what I shall do thereupon till I have ye nature of ye crime, but I confess I am inclined by ye circumstances I know to spare them if they shall be found guilty,¹ so as you may depend upon it they will bee reprieved. I am, etc., etc.

XCIV.—THE BISHOP OF KILLALA TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

May it please yr Excell^{cie}

It is my duty to let your Excellency know anything here which concernes the publike. Three of those four Tories wch have so long harrassed this poor county have been lately cutt of. One of them a little before Candlemas came to an Irish man's house to make an end of Christmas, but, by the stoutness of his new Host, Christmas made an end of him. Taking his time when he layd by his arms hee seized upon him without any other helper, and then calling to others neer him for assistance, they bound him and brought him hither where his head was chopt of.

On Sunday night last some Scotchmen belonging to a Iron workes about two miles hence brought the two heads of Kelly and Dougharty whom they killed the day before coming to the Forge to fixe their arms. This chopping of their heads doth much more terrify others from coming out than Hanging though that doth pretty well when they come to it, but it is long first, they having so many friends, not only Irish but English to, and some of them sitting on the Bench.

I did engage myselfe to the Irishman when hee took Mulloghrory, and to the Scotchmen when they undertooke the dispatch of the

¹ They were tried at Wexford and found not guilty.

others (which they made known to mee about a month ago) that I would make it known to yr Excellency, and use all the means I could that they might have the money by Proclamation promised them wch they have highly merited. If your Excellency knew the tittle of the violencies insolencies and villanies that these four Rogues have done these two yeares last past without any controule I am confident that yr Excellency would judge the thirty pound wch they expect for killing these three far below their deservings; beside the stop of commerce (some thousands of pounds out of the way of this country) they have ruined several whole parishes, from whence they first took all their money, not long after all their household goods, and within a while after all their meale and butter, and this done not to one or two parishes but many. If these bee well rewarded it will encourage these and others to doe the like where need is, without that nothing will bee done.

The glory of doing a good action is of to bright a blaze for the dull eyes of such people, honour sinks not into their thick skulls, profit only stirrs them, and we must drive the nail as it will go. I am so little versed in the Law, that I know not whether that will permit a taxe to be layed on ye County for payment of this money (I doubt it will not) but if it would the country were bound in conscience to pay them double for this brave service.

If your Excellency should think fit when the dispatch of greater affairs will allow it to command this money to be payed to one in Dublin whom I have named to Mr East upon the first notice of it I would pay them instantly here, but if they must receive it in Dublin, the charges of going and coming, lying thither, the delaies familiar to all Courts in Christendome and out of it, would bee such as the money would do them little good, and I scruple it very much whither I should advise them to fetch it thence. There is but one Tory M^c Tartan, a stout fellow, now in being who if he do not run away which I more feare than hope, I doubt not but to see his head ere long. But though there bee but one, yet it is the opinion of all here about, that wee have as much need of a Provost Marshall as before, the very terror of the name, keeping many quiet who otherwise would bee too much troublesome.

If your Excellency would please to let me have one Company purposely for suppressing Tories by quartering neere their haunts I verily beleeve that Company would do better service than any one in Ireland.

I hope the pounding of Hendry will fright him and his followers from straying into other mens grounds, but the punishment of themselves is of little avail towards peace (I beleieve they are very great gainers by their troubles) the Grandees that set out these little folks must be mauled, or little good will bee done.

I must humbly beg yr Excellency's pardon for this, tediousness of my Lrd, etc., etc.

March 28. 77.

XCV.—NOTES FOR MY LORD GRANARD UPON HIS GOING INTO ENGLAND, APRIL 7, 1677.

That yr L^p acquaint his Mat^y how much you find ye Horse improved by their having bin brought up to Town.¹ That if ye like course were taken for ye ffoot, it would be also of great benefitt to his Mat^y's service; The number of them proposed to bee brought to Towne is eight companys, and to take their turnes to relieve one another every three months.² The extraordinary expense of this to his Mat^y will be 2 pence per Diem to each private soldier wch will amount to 1344 pr Añn: That so soon as any surplusage of ye Revenue shall accrue, wch will bee some time ye beginning of ye next year, tis conceived yt if such addition were upon ye Establishment t'will much conduce to ye bettering ye Army.

One great defect in ye Army is yt there are very many old and decayed men in severall Troops and Companys, wch tis impossible to remedy without some provision for them when they become unserviceable, it being contrary both to Justice and Common Reason to discard a man when hee has served 10 or 20 years, and turne him out to starve; to remedy wch it is proposed yt a deduction

¹ That is to Dublin.

² See *Calendar of Treasury Books* 1676-79, vol. 1, p. 651.

bee made of sixpence p pd out of every Officer and Soldiers' pay of ye Army, wch will amount as ye Establishment now stands to 3.400 pr Añn¹: This summ for ye first year or year and halfe, with an addition of what will bee given by persons of quality towards it, may be applied to ye building of an Hospital, ye succeeding Revenue thereof for ye provision of such old, decayed and wounded Officers and Soldiers as shall be thought fitt to bee placed there: There is also a provision in ye Act of Settlement of 1000^d p añn wch may be applied to this use, tis contained page 118.

This proposall cannot bee putt in execution till sometime ye next year, in regard twill be somewhat too hard upon ye soldiers to make any new deduction now they are so far behind in their pay, but by ye next spring (if ye ffarmers continue to answer in their Rents) we shall be even with ye pay of ye Army and discharge each quarter within a month after it becomes due; T'is conceived this deduction will then be no grievance to them, specially when t'is considered tis purely for their own benefitt, and how much they are eased in other matters: As for instance ye lowest discount upon each soldier for cloathing that has ever formerly bin was nine shillings pr Quarter, whereas they now are, and for ye future will be cloathed for ye allowance of 4 shillings 4 pence p. quarter and ye deduction for this Hospitall will not bee above one shilling and half penny more out of ye Quarters pay to each private foot soldier. His Maty will also doubtless receive a considerable advantage by it, for ye Army will then become all able men for service, whereas now when ye companys march many of them are forct to have carts to carry old and Decayed men that are enlisted; and besides t'will encourage many to enter into ye troops and companys and to venture further in case of danger seeing there is provision made for them when they shall grow old or bee wounded . . .

¹ An early scheme for old age pensions.

XCVI.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR HENRY CAPEL.

Dublin Castle April 21 1677

Dear Brother

This last week my Lord Granarde went from here intending for Bristoll to stay a month or two at ye Bath before hee went to London, but by contrary winds I hear hee landed at Chester and soe perhaps may goe straight from thence to Towne. Hee parted here with great professions of friendship and kindness towards mee yet however I would bee glad you did a little watch his proceedings, and if you can, learne what discourse hee makes concerning ye Government here.

I am, etc.

XCVII.—SIR CYRIL WYCHE TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

St James Square Saturday
10 April 77.

May it please yr Excellency,

The Bill designed for a more vigorous execution of ye acts agnst Irish Cattle,¹ and wh had in it a clause to perpetuate those laws, has mett with an unlooked for fate, for being read on Thursday morning earely with an expectation to have it quickly passed in a thinne house, ye debate was artificially prolonged till ye House filled and then ye Bill was thrown out, and that that advantage might not be slipped, it was presently moved yt leave might be given to bring in a Bill to repeal those two Acts and allow a limited importation. this night in which there were six (I thinke seven) divisions of ye House, all ye methods of Directing, clogging, adjourning and delaying ye question being used, but nothing could prevaile against ye bent of ye House, so yt at last it was voted and a Committee appointed to prepare a Bill to yt effect, without any imposition. It is to be observed yt ye Parties wch lost it now was greater than

¹ The Act had been passed in Oct. 1666 through the House of Commons, and after a conflict with the Lords, which turned upon the word *nuisance* as a description of the trade, it was passed by the Upper House in Jan. 1667.

wt carried it when ye perpetuating clause was lately ordered. This whole day till seven at night was spent in ye reporting and passing ye Bill for ye 600,000^{lbs} wch was then ordered to be ingrossed.

Here has bin a report this 2 days, wch this afternoon is confirmed, of a considerable victory obtained by ye French wch has bin very bloody on ye Pr of Orange's part, other particulars are not yet come than that he has lost his cannon and baggage and is retired with a very broaken army to Ipres.

I am, etc.

XCVIII.—THE SAME TO THE SAME.

St James Square Saturday 14 April 77

May it please yr Excell^{cy}

In obedience to yr Excell^{ys} of ye 7th instant I acquainted Sir J. Worden with ye death of Mr Southwell, and how necessary it is that some man of integrity should succeed him in ye vice Admirals^{hip} of Munster who tells mee he thinks it will bee his sonne Sir R^t Southwell.

The House now towards ye end of this meeting have labored under great difficulties. A message from ye King upon occasion of ye late successe of ye French forces (wch have also taken St Omre by storme and putt many thousands to ye sword) putt them for some time to such a stand, yt they were two dayes before they could resolve of an answer, at last an adresse was agreed on, and presented late on Thursday night. yr Excell has ye Originals sent you now by Mr Havers and therefore I trouble you not further with them. An amendment ye Lords have made to ye Bill for building of ships has endangered ye losse of it, there is in it a clause of an accompt of ye laying out of money to be made to ye Commons, their L^{rs} have thought fitt to make ym selves likewise parties to ye taking this accompt wch ye Commons will by no means admitt of, as touching them in ye most sensible part, ye power of money, to which they conceive ye Lords cannot annexe a condition, this has produced 2 conferences and one Free Conference, and ye 2nd Free Conference at ye desire of ye Commons, is appointed

on Munday next at ten a'clocke. Yr Excell. shall have ye reasons of both sides at large.

The King of France we are told is drawing towards ye water side, and this night Mons Chrequi¹ is expected here as Ambassador Extraordinary. Mr Papillon² informed ye house yt hee had lately received a letter from Bristoll wch gave an accompt of advice newly come thither from St Malloe of ye landing 500 men there from Ireland, part of 1500 men wch are all gone or going into ye Fr service and yt they were shipped on pretence of going to Virginia. Sir John Knight³ seconded him in confirming ye information, and added something of Col. Dungan⁴ but nothing further was said.

The 31²⁵ I mentioned in mine of 10 March have bin ever since with great industry playing their game by wch I heare at present 409⁶ is ye likeliest altho 406⁷ and 451⁸ are engaged on ye other side, and a good hand assured me privately this afternoone yt they are first labouring 400⁹ to resolve yt 391: 29: 80¹⁰ should be 65. 29. 23. 17. 47. 49. 31. 28¹¹ before 391¹²: 68. 74. 23. 29. 68. 56. 65¹³ bee agreed on, wch they have neere brought about I hope yr Excell will pardon my industry and care to acquaint you with what I hear who will alwayes bee, etc.

¹ The Duke of Créqui. "Duke of Créqui coming hither under character of an ambassador extraordinary, and the great Archbishop of Rheims comes with him; will be this day in town, April 17, 1677." *Calendar of Domestic State Papers* 1677-78, p. 95.

² Thomas Papillon was M.P. for Dover 1673-1681 and at a later period. He was a member of the Country Party. Died 1702.

³ Sir John Knight, a provision merchant, represented Bristol in Parliament 1661-1678. He is called "the Elder" to distinguish him from a later namesake who was also both Mayor and M.P. for Bristol.

⁴ See Letter XC.

⁵ Parties. ⁶ Ormond. ⁷ Treasurer. ⁸ Duchess of Portsmouth.

⁹ King. ¹⁰ Your Excellency. ¹¹ Recalled. ¹² Your. ¹³ Successor.

XCIX.—MR W. HARBORD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

London 14 Apr: 77.

May it please yr Excell^{cie}

I hope you will easily believe that I have not omitted writing to your Excell^{cy} out of any disrespect or want of care of yr concerns on all occasions wereoff Sir Harry Capell can give you an account, but having at this time a more than ordinary occasion to write to you I thought it fit to give you this trouble and *to acquaint Essex that Essex his Remove is now resolved and Essex will have notice of it from Mr Sec. Coventry ye first post by his Maty's command* but it is not absolutely certain *who will be the man*, perhaps by the next post that may be resolved also. The affairs of both houses I suppose are as formerly transmitted to you weekly.

I shall saye no more at present but that I am, etc., etc.

C.—SIR HENRY CAPEL TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Sir,

Nothwithstanding these papers I send you in Cypher and whatever else you may hear from others concerning the same; Yet I desire You to take not ye least notice of it either by letter or otherwise till the certainty of it be sent you.

I am, etc.

Lon

April 16th

77.

[This paper, chiefly in a numerical cipher, follows.—ED.]

It is the discourse in the town that Monmouthgo over L. of Ireland and Con. his Deputy. But the springs that first set this in motion and the agents active in effecting the same are not so public. But it is fit for you to know them. Ran. hath determined to have you removed Trea is engaged and active in it and D. Portsm. is wholly with both to effect it Duke they say harkens to it. D.M. is but the blinde, tis Conway that they would establish. Tis thought Con. will give a great sum of money to purchase it. he offers to pay for the equipaging (of) the new

Lt in setting out and to part with $\frac{1}{2}$ of the allowance of the place and to supply the rest out of his own estate. D^e M. is tempted to it by the gain of 6000 pounds per an. and the $\frac{1}{2}$ of the allowance, and to remain here with the title added to his other honours.

Thus far I have my intelligence from Orm. who assures me he will oppose it to his utmost and if Con. go will never see Ireland whilst he is there. Yesterday I discoursed Ireland fully with Arl. who assures me that this is now attempting. I have encouraged Orm in his resolution and shall constantly call upon him to see the notions of it though I gave him many opportunities to let fall to me that if others were the cause of your remove it was not impossible but that King might substitute him yet I could not by any means discover any thought he hath of it. I have prepared Ld Boll.¹ to see into it to sound Duke and I have awakened Coll Talbot who hates Con and loves not Orm. Boll is of opinion with my former to you as if the services of Orm this session to Treas and party must be rewarded with that Government and ye rather for that he is now very well with Duke. Next week Talbot comes to London and I shall see the bottom.

CI.—SIR CYRIL WYCHE TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

St James Square 17 April 77

This meeting is now at an end, Ye Parl^t being last night adjourned to ye 21st of May next, and we are given to understand yt ye King intends so to continue it by short adjournments on to Oct yt hee may still have it at hand upon occasion, and if nothing very important intervene, yt they shall not sitt to doe businesse till ye winter. Wt alteration ye addresse yesternight presented to ye King by ye members of the Pr: Councill from ye House may cause in this resolution time must show us. The King's last message in wch he acquaints ye House yt 600000 is wanting for necessary preparations, and this addresse in answer thereunto yr Excell^{cy} will receive by this conveyance from Mr Havers Their L^{ps} were pleased after ye 2 Free Conferences to withdraw ye 'Amendment they had made to ye

¹ St John, 2nd Earl of Bollingbroke.

Bill for building ships, and thereupon things were quietly ripened to an issue moving very easily. Ye Kg went for Newmarket (wch journey this difference between ye Houses had putt one day off) with intention to stay ten days or thereabouts.

Ye French ministers (who were expected here in Towne) are to meet him there, where preparations are accordingly made for them. They are Mons le Duc de Chrequi,¹ ye Archbishop of Rheims and ye Premier President of ye Parl^t of Paris

I should bee wanting in my duty to yr Excell^y if I should not acquaint you yt I am credibly informed yt *Ormond* obtained a promise from *King* for himselfe on this day sennight his chiefest strength in this matter has bin *Treasurer* who has carried it for him against ye strong interest which was engaged another way. I am, etc.

This is contrary to the information derived from other quarters and contradicted by Danby's subsequent conduct.

CII.—FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

St James Square Friday 20 Ap 77

May it please yr Excell^y

. . . This affaire of 409² is, I find not yet gone so far, as yt ye others give it over, and tho he, I am told looks upon himselfe as having gained his point, yet t'is believed still yt ye others interest will bee able to hinder him, and so by keeping 400³ from any determinate resolution, things may rest as they are. Pending this uncertainty Sir H. Capell is of opinion yt my going to New-Market may bee of some service to yr Excell: whither I therefore sett for ward tomorrow morning, yt I may omitt no opportunity of doing what becomes, etc., etc.

My Ld Treasurer and ye B. of Newcastle were yesterday installed at Windsor with great magnificence. Duty, curiosity and Friendship brought 150 coaches thither.

¹ See Letter XCVIII. ² Ormond. ³ King.

CIII.—JOHN EARL OF ROCHESTER TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Apr. 22¹

My Lord,

The bearer of this being to present yr Excellence with a reference from ye King, wherein my name is to appeare, it becomes my duty to lett you know that I am made use of only as a Trustee for Mrs Nelly² and that by a perticular direction yt favour is humbly begg'd, and much relied upon by her in this Affayre, and my part is noe more but to advice her (as I would all I wish well to) by any means to bee oblidge to yr Excellence if they can, since there is noe where to bee found a better freind or worthyer Patron, how sincerely this is my opinion you would not doubt my Lord, could I make appear to you, with how much zeale and faithfullnesse I am, and wish ever to continue

Yr humble Servant.

CIV.—THE DUKE OF ORMOND TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

20th of April 77

My Lord

There has bin so much contrivance during the time of your government to do mee ill offices with your Ex^{cy} that I cannot doubt but that on yr Leaveing it and my succeeding at least the same art will be continued, but I shall so much rely on yr Ex^{cy}'s Justice when all circumstances shall bee known to you that I shall not doubt but that you will beleieve that as I have bin so I allways resolve to bee

Yr Exc^{llncys} most faithful and most humble servant

ORMOND

¹ 1677. ² Nell Gwyn.

CV.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

Dublin Castle April 28 1677

My Lord

Your Grace is not at all mistaken yt there have bin Endeavors used to make mee believe yt those professions of friendship wch I have often had from you were not of that reallity as might bee expected from a person of yr Birth and quality but so often as any of these artifices have of late bin practised I acquainted my Lord Lansborough therewith, who, I know, has transmitted ye particulars to yr Grace: I doe confess I should with some regret have parted with ye sword into ye hands of my Lord Conway as was here confidently said it would bee, and should in such case rather have desired yt Lords Justices might have bin constituted for ye time who might have transferred it; but since his Mat^y hath bin pleased to pitch upon a person who hath had soe much experience in all affairs here, and soe eminent for his loyalty, this makes mee resolve to stay till yr Grace shall arrive yt I may myself putt ye sword into yr hands, The circumstances of Time &c His Mat^y having by a Letter of Mr Sec Coventry bin pleased to leave in some measure to mee I have desired my Brother or my secretary Sir Cyrell Wyche to adjust with yr Grace.

By ye next packett I shall return my Report upon a late petition of my Lord Ranela referred to mee, wherein his L^p and partners desire two years longer time then they have by their Covenants both for ascertaining these debts, and meeting ye same: This being a matter of consequence to ye whole Kingdome, I tooke ye advice of ye Privy Councill on that subject, and in regard yt if ye prayer of ye petition should bee granted this concession may probably take place in yr time I shall direct Sir Cyrell Wyche to putt all those papers in yr Grace's hand. The principall thing to be taken care of here is ye support of ye present Farme and therefore I doe earnestly recommend it to yr Graces protection yt whilst you are in England you will give them all reasonable assistance that may bee, as I shall alsoe do for ye short time of my stay here:

I doe professe myself so entirely a faithfull subject to his Mat^y

as were I not so much yr Grace's servant as I am, I should yet wish in what hand so ever his Mat^y's affairs were, his businesse should thrive and in order to this end it may bee necessary yt yr Grace should know ye series of Things as they passe here which either myself or by ye hand of my brother or Cyrill Wyche I shall communicate to you and remain, etc., etc.

CVI.—MR SECRETARY COVENTRY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Enfeild Chase April 20 1677

My Lord,

I have just now r^d a letter from his Mat^y to yr Excell^{cy} under his owne hand wch I sent to Sir H. Capell to bee convey'd to yr Excell^{cy} according to his desire. I do find that other Ld^s Lieu^{nts} have had a letter of advertisement that hath passed the Sign Manuall but then I conceive they had none under the King's owne hand, if you think the having such a one in forme bee needfull upon the first intimation I shall procure it. I am further by his Mat^y's order to acquaint you that as hee hath in his letter putt no precise time for yr removall so neither am I to acquaint you with his resolution. In any precise month or weeke, hee leaveth to your Excell^{cy} to adjust that matter.

Your successour the Duke of Ormond who must have some leisure to provide himselfe an equipage onely this I am to acquaint yr Excell^{cy} that his Mat^y desires to testify to the world that yr removall proceedeth from no manner of dislike of your management of affairs there, of which hee hath greate reason to approve, but onely to keepe up the old rule of not perpetuating that government over long in any one hand,¹ hath resolved to leave as much to your own judgement of the manner of your leaving yt government and as much suiting your owne affaires and satisfaction as may bee wyle it is entirely left to yr Excell^{cy}'s choyce either to stay and expect my Ld of Ormond's arrivall, or if it seems more convenient to

¹ See Letter of Sir G. Rawdon to Viscount Conway. *Calendar of Domestic State Papers 1677-78*, p. 114 and passim for references to Essex during the remainder of his stay in Ireland.

yourselfe to nominate Justices to bee approved of by his Mat^y and take your owne time for comming away. This is what I have re^d in commands from his Mat^y. I am sure you will find mee heere something increased in years but much diminished in health and strength, but the very same in affection and deference to your Excell^{cy} being unalterably, my Lord, etc., etc.

CVII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE KING.

May it please yr Mat^y.

I doe with all humility acknowledge ye favour yr Mat^y was pleased to doe mee in signifying by a letter written with yr owne hand yr intention of my returning home, and that yr Mat^{ty} has also therein given mee such an undeniable testimony of yr satisfaction in my management of those affairs wch yr Mat^{ty} hath for almost five years committed to my care wth^y ye assurance yt you will be pleased to retain in yr princely memory ye endeavors I have used justly and honestly to discharge my Trust wch truly I can justify to all ye world I have performed with an upright conscience and if any cavills have arisen agnst my proceedings here it may bee they have bin founded upon my insisting strictly on yr Mat^y's Right and not admitting some persons to take that as due wch if allowed they ought to accept as Grace from yr Majestie: And as it hath ever bin my practice in these Employments wherewith yr Mat^y hath thought fitt to honour mee strenuously to assert and maintaine ye prerogative to wch you were borne so I hope yr Mat^y will be pleased to believe yt in all capacitys yr Mat^y shall at any time place mee I will continue steady and firme to ye same cause as being with all devotion, etc., etc.

To Ye King

Dublin Castle

April 28, 1677.

CVIII.—SIR HENRY CAPELL TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Although *Orm hath carried this business* yet I think *I can confidently assure you tis no ways to the liking of Treas or Ran.* and

notwithstanding *the thing is done Treas still persists in high dislike of it therefore we think D.¹ hath done it, this being the case tis the advice of all yr friends here, none excepted, that you mention not as yet a time certain for yr return, but from yr many important affairs upon yr hands necessary to dispatch or at least put in order before you come, write that you will with what speed you can give an account to S. Cov. of the time most proper for that end to be recald and twere not amiss that in yr answer to Cov. there appear somewhat of surprise at the suddennesse of it, the reason of this is that till King return we know not how far Treas will acquiesce in the affair and should hee not and Parl. sitt in May I know not what liberty it may give us yet to play again for you. Talbt writes to you this night without a name Since the last post I know not what to make of yr businesse D. M. does not yet persist. Orm thinks he is sure of it and wants only a letter for yr recall to be possest of it. Lord Ossory² is charged with the care to obtain it at Newmarket Considering the state of our publique affairs, and the force of these enterprising Lords that attac you I am not very solicitous to oppose it. But at length the thing take its course and you submit it to the pleasure of King in it. Talbot being just now comme to town . . . he is of opinion nothing will be done against you at Newmarket and at the instant of their return we are to make an essay for nothing will content him less than the utmost endeavors to preserve you there.*

Its thought King will not fal out with France for all these addresses of Parl.

(2) *Since my last I am better able to tell you yr imployment is disposed of, Orm some months since got King to promise it to him and thought he had Treas for him. Treas. not liking him for that Government lately set up D. Mon. Duke apprehending lest Treas should carry it for D. Mon. assists Orm and this week Orm. thinks hee hath the sure promise of it from King and you are shortly to have a letter from Sec Coventry intimating yr return. If I see there is no stop to be put to it as I believe there is not I shall endeavor that you come*

¹ Duke of York.

² Thomas, Earl of Ossory, eldest son of the Duke of Ormond, summoned to Parliament by writ as Lord Butler of Moor Park.

of with all honour I can and when it is the pleasure of King that you know it I hope to obtain a letter from King himself to acquaint you with it.

[This communication, also in the numerical cipher, follows—ED.]

I am not completely furnished for the post to give you an acct how all partys stand since the return from Newmarket in relation to yr affair This I am pretty sure of that Treas ill stomachs Ormond's carrying this businesse and that without his privity and is still resolved to attempt his defeat. Ranela is enraged at it. D. of Portsmouth is of their party, on the other hand Ormond begins to speak very severely of Treasurer. Ormond hath lately discoursed to King of Treasurers abusing King in underletting the excise to the value of 30000^{lbs} per annum.¹ Col Talbot is so zealous yours that this night he talks with Duke about it, in short the businesse hath bred great confusion in Court and at present nobody seems pleased. What these feuds may produce I know not, in the mean time I am not solicitous for your stay but waite to see what Time may produce. You are desired to pay the pension of Lord Peterbrough² and the arrears

CIX.—SIR CYRIL WYCHE TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

St James Square Tuesday 1 May
77.

May it please yr^e Excel:

I have according to yr Excel^{ty}s commands by Mr Aldworth enquired about ye water Engines wch are used here when fires happen, and find yt there are two sorts of them, a greater and a lesser, these are used in the open streets where they have room enough, and a lesser in narrower passages. Ye lowest prices wch they hold them at in Lothbury, where most of them are made, are 33^{lbs} and 15^{lbs} apeice, there are besides a sort of large hand squirts to bee used within doores and sold at about 30^s each. Ye

¹ See Letter CX.

² Henry, 2nd Earl of Peterborough, made Governor of Tangier, 1661; recalled 1662, had pension of £1000 a year.

engines of this nature, of wch Sir Sam. Morland¹ has ye monopoly by patent for 14 years, as ye Inventor, are of three or four different sizes, but dearer and lesse used than ye other.

I have also made some inquiry into ye method used here for ye redemption of slaves taken by ye Turks, and find yt ye businesse was managed by undertakers, who trade to those parts, in whose hands ye money was trusted upon security. Ye English have settled Factories and Consuls in some of those sea townes upon ye coast of Barbary and therefore ye returne of money thither from hence is not so difficult as it may bee from Ireland thither, between wch countries I have not heard yt there is any trade driven. I have procured from Sir Rob^t Southwall² a copy of ye Instructions given to these undertakers by ye Councell for their direction in this affaire wch I herewith send yr Excell: w^t further command you shall be pleased to give shall be instantly obeyed by my Lord, etc., etc.

WYCHE.

CX.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR HENRY CAPEL.

Dublin Castle May 9, 1677

Dear Brother,

There hath bin lately a most vile practice of my Ld Treasurer and Ld Ranelagh to sett mee ill with ye City of London,³ when you have read ye letters and papers enclosed wch I have sent you with flying seales yt you may peruse them you will sufficiently understand ye businesse: I have rather sent these papers to you than to Sir Cyrell Wyche, because not knowing fully ye circumstances wherein hee may stand I would not engage him to his prejudice in any feuds with his Maty's ministers, but being sure yt you are a man who goe upon ye same principles as I myselfe doe, That is to bee just and upright in all yr dealings and not to vary from that Rule upon ye score of favour from any great men at court, I have

¹ Knighted by the King, 1660, for his treachery to Cromwell, when he was Clerk to Thurloe. He was famous as an inventor.

² Sir Robert Southwell was Clerk to the Privy Council.

³ See *Calendar of Treasury Books* 1676-79, p. 610, and *passim* for Customs of Londonderry.

therefore putt this concern^t into yr hands and desire you would thoroughly prosecute ye same: It is so shameful a thing in a Lord High Treasurer to give an equivocall calculation to deceive men as t'were fitt it were made appear in its due colours: Should his L^p say hee took ye information from ye Ld Ranelagh and yt ye mistake came from thence, if he would doe like a gentleman hee should then discard ye Lord Ranelagh for deceiving of him; but, bee it how it will, these calculations ought to come from ye Lieut^{nt} and not from ye Vice Treasurer, and till his Mat^y permitts those who are entrusted in his businesse to have ye Rights of their places and to execute that wch is committed to their charge hee will always bee thus deceived.

There is an affair wch I have committed to Sir Cyrill Wyche concerning a very unhandsome and reflecting clause in a late letter of ye Kings¹. I hope hee will communicate ye same to you, and if you find by any circumstances yt it may bee inconvenient for him to transact that matter I desire you will also take it upon your selfe.

I am, etc.,

ESSEX.

To Sir Henry Capell.

CXI.—SIR CYRILL WYCHE TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

St James Square Tuesday
8 May 77.

May it please yr Excel^{acy}

The change intended *in Ireland* meets with *opposition* wch was not looked for, and ye adverse *partys* are now as vigorously at work as ever, Yt wch has afresh either provoked or encouraged them is a *difference* lately hapned between *Ormond* and *Treasurer* upon this occasion. The late *farmers* of ye *Excise* when upon ye late *new* letting it, they had (rather than be turned out) bid up very high upon ye present *farms* finding (as they conceived)

¹ This implied that Essex had needlessly obstructed the Vice-Treasurer Ranelagh.

Treasurer earnestly bent against them, were fain to desist, and thereupon these men (with whom Ranelagh is in) were admitted to ye bargain they now enjoy, and having need of *Treasurer* in ye defalcations &c they expected, thought it not enough to desist, but necessary to appease him too for what they had done, and therefore found meanes to make him a present, but since (upon what motions I know not) have bin with *Ormond* and delivered him a paper of ye terms upon wch ye *farm now let*, and those wch they had offered, and are still ready to make good, by wch it appears yt they would have given *King* 35,000^{lbs} yearly (wch in ye 3 years for wch it is let comes to 105,000 more than these men pay besides a 30000 for interest wch is allowed these men, and would not have bin expected by them. Ye paper as t'is said too containd notes of wt *Treasurer* was to have had, and ye like. This *Ormond* tooke and showed *Treasurer* who reade it, putt it in his pockett, and gave him no further answer then yr servant, and went away. *Ormond* looked upon himselfe as affronted by this usage, and getting another copy of it showed it *King*. It has bin twice before Committee of Foreign Affairs where some of ye late *Farmers* were last Sunday (*King* not being there) soundly reprimanded by *Treasurer* and, as t'is said, one of them is since taken off and promised to bee putt into a place in ye Custom house.

What ye effect will bee a little longer time will show us, in ye mean time there is new life given to ye opportunity wch was almost laid down on all hands and I hear Ranelagh should say—Well! *Ormond* is not in Ireland yet. This account, for the greatest part, I have from *Sir H. Capell*, who has it from a very good hand and we thought it necessary that yr Ex^{ty} should know all the particulars in action here and upon wch things depend.

The enclosed is a copy of ye letter brought lately by Mons. Chrequi¹ from ye K. of France to ye King²

I am, etc.

¹ Duc de Créqui. See Letter CIV.

² The letter follows. It expresses a desire for a truce as the preparation for a durable peace, and Charles is requested to sound the King of Sweden in order to ascertain his views on the subject.

CXII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR HENRY CAPEL.

Dublin Castle May 12: 1677

Dear Brother

I recd yrs of May 5. as also one from Sir Cyrill Wyche of ye same date; I should indeed be very glad if Sir Cyrill may make his interest for ye same Employ^{mt} with ye Duke of Ormond as hee had with mee, and should very willingly contribute any reasonable assistance thereunto: I do consider it not very proper for mee to write to his Grace myself upon such a subject for it ought to bee more than an ordinary intimacy for any to pretend to recommend a Secretary to another, but I desire you will please as from mee to acquaint my Lord Duke yt I have found Sir Cyrill Wyche to be a very discreet understanding man, and yt hee gained more knowledge in ye affaires of this Kingdome in that short time hee was here with mee then could well be imagined; That I thought myself very happy in having him in that employment, That I am very confident that hee is a man of so much vertue and integrity as hee will never be a disgrace to any who shall employ him.

I have lately received ye greatest affront that I ever had in my life from a person who is a captain of ye army here namely Captain Edward Brabazon. This thing is personal but of a most high nature. His Mat^y by ye employment hee has given mee hath putt mee above ye taking that satisfaction as gentlemen in like cases use to doe, and therefore I conceive it fitt my Resentment should bee exprest in such a way as ye Authority I have in my hands will permitt me to take, for which reason I have given away his troop, and forbid him to appear in my presence or to come within ye park¹ of wch hee is Ranger, wherein I usually take ye aire; I doe hear yt hee speaks much in defiance of mee, and says for his troop he values not my giving it away for hee will soon gett it again, wherefore I desire you will speak with ye Duke of Ormond who is my successor and Mr Sec. Coventry yt ye King may bee acquainted therewith. The story is too long to tell you ye whole at present, and if I should repeate but part it would not bee enough to explaine ye same; I

¹ The Phoenix Park.

have so much proof of his unworthy dealings as I am certain whenever his Maty shall come to know it, hee cannot blame mee for my proceedings against him, Nor can any gentleman justify him therein. Wherefore all I desire is yt no Letter may bee procured to change anything of the matter till I come over myselfe.

The post being now goeing this is all I have time to tell you upon this subject and remaine, etc.

Since my writing I doe also hear yt he intends to move for a Letter in England for leave for him to goe over thither wch I desire may bee stopt till hee produce some papers that hee ownes hee hath.

CXIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO SIR JEFFREY SHAKERLEY.

Dublin Castle May 12: 1677.

Sir,

There is a vile woman who has bin guilty of severall wicked practices here that hath lately shipt herselfe for Chester; Her name is Elizabeth Rigby, or at least ye name shee went by here; She is a wench kept by Captain Ed. Brabazon, and went over (as I am told) with some horses and goods of his a few weeks since. If shee can be found at Chester you will doe mee a great kindnesse in apprehending of her and sending her over in ye next Chester vessell that shall come to bee delivered to such persons as I shall appoint; I have ordered one of my secretaries to write to Mr Anderton to deliver you this Letter: If this woman can bee taken and sent hither you will by it very much oblige

Your most faithful servant

ESSEX.

CXIV.—

[A letter dated May 16 from Essex to Sir H. Capell introduces the following account of Captain Brabazon's conduct. Essex excuses himself for depriving Brabazon of his troop without a

Court Martial by the precedent set by Ormond, who thus deprived several officers.—ED.]

On Tuesday last being ye eighth instant Captain Edward Brabazon intending to ship himselfe ye next day for England came hither to take his leave, and amongst other discourse with my wife, askt if shee did not know one Betty; or at least one who went under that name in Dublin; my wife told him that she (knew) none such, and desired a reason of him why he askt her. Hee said hee was sure shee did know one and yt very well; That shee had bin often with her and in her bed chamber severall times; That himself had read several Letters from her La^p and these very kind ones, and tho they had no name to them, yet that this Betty always brought them to him, and told him they came from her; much more he persisted to say, averring yt ye Letters came from her La^p. To wch shee replied yt shee had never writt any Letter to him in her whole Life, not yt shee scrupled to write to him or any man else if shee had any business with them, but yt she was certain there never were any lines sent from her to him: Hee continued still to aver yt hee had these Letters from her, and there were many of them and so they parted.

It being neer supper time we went to supper and afterwards when I retired to my bedchamber my wife told me ye whole story of all that had past. The next morning I advised my wife to write to him, and require of him yt since hee had owned ye having received severall papers wch hee said came from her, and papers of such a nature as hee had exprest, yt hee should either send them all by ye gentleman who brought ye Letter, or come immediately and deliver them himselfe; To wch Letter hee returned an answer wherein hee hath these words: Yr La^p may at any time command what is in my power, but concerning some papers you writt for, I have not them in my custody, neither are they in this Kingdome. I ly at yr mercy Madam to make what construction you please by reason my sincerity to serve yr La^p has made mee speeke what had bin better let alone, giving you always this assurance if I can retrieve what you desire as I conclude I may I will do that for

yr La^p wch nothing else can exact, to bring these papers expected to your view."

Hereupon I immediately sent ye gentleman usher, who was then in waiting to stop Captain Brabzon's journey into England, wch immediately Hee did that afternoon, and my wife desiring to be present when I discourst with him I sent for Captain Brabzon up to my chamber and told him yt hee had run himself into a very extravagant affair: That I found hee owned hee had severall Letters and these very kind ones, wch hee believed came from my wife; I wisht him to consider ye matter, for tho I myself, or any one, might have one Letter brought them pretended to bee sent from any ye greatest man's wife whatsoever, yet should I not upon ye receipt of any such Letter carry it immediately back to ye Lady from whom it was pretended to come, and if I found ye same a fraud, use my utmost endeavours to detect ye whole matter, I should think I were ye unworthiest man in ye world. So as ye Receiving if it were but Two such Letters in this manner was a crime inexcusable, whereas hee owned ye having divers; He told mee hee had received many of them but they were not in his power to produce, I then askt him where they were. He said hee had sent them over in his Trunk into England, I thin askt him where ye person was who brought them. Hee told mee she was his servant, and was also in England; To wch I replied yt was worse than all ye rest, for how could I imagine that any man should send such Letters away from England, together with ye person that brought them, unlesse hee intended so soon as hee came to London to expose them to be read among some of that lewd company to wch hee always consorts, and there have a witnesse ready to aver yt these Letters came from my wife, therein endeavouring to defame my wife and ffamily, that ye proceeding is so barbarous and ungentlemanlike as cannot bee borne by a person of Honour: That it was true hee was borne a gentleman and of a good ffamily but I knew hee led a life so vitious and in such ill company, as I believed it had depraved his very nature and yt hee judged of all other women according to those debauched ones with whom hee had spent most of his time; That

this was an injury I would not put up with and yt hee was to expect to bee used with such severity as his crime deserved; so I commanded him not to depart ye kingdome till hee had produced those papers and ye woman that brought them to him.

This is ye truth of all that past.

Since ye discourse between my wife and Captain Brabzon mentioned in ye other paper I have used what endeavours I could to learn who this person is that hee calls Betty and find that, whilst I was in England, and my wife, big with child, at Chapel Izod¹ there was a woman very ragged in cloathes came into ye court under my wife's chamber window, as my wife well remembers, and was there with a stick in her hand, beating some of ye kitchen boys abt ye court; my wife enquiring what shee was, some of her people told her T'was a poor mad woman that used to run abt ye streets at Dublin, so my wife gave her a cob² for wch she seemed very thankful; This woman hath many times since followed my wife's coach in ye streets, and of late that is within two or three months my wife observed shee did most frequently follow her, and when my wife at any times went to Christ Church shee would always bee keeping close to her, so as many of ye Ladys who accompanied my wife often askt her whether shee knew that woman; My wife used to say shee was a poor mad woman to whom shee had once given a cob, and that was all shee knew of her: But wee do now find yt this woman whose name is Eliza Rigby is ye same yt Captain Brabzon pretends to be ye conveyer of these Letters. That Capt Brabzon did severall months agoe take her out of ye streets and entertain her as his servant, That hee furnisht her a chamber very handsomely and gave her many good cloaths; Captain Brabzon's wife with whom hee lives very ill, tho shee is a person that brought him a considerable fortune, having some notice of this woman went abt a month since suddenly to his Lodging and surprized him and her alone together, at wch, Mrs Brabzon, being very much enraged, flew severely on ye woman, and was taking out some writts to have

¹The Lord Lieutenant's residence in the Phoenix Park.

²A piece of money the value of which varied from 4 shillings to as much as 6 shillings in 1675.

her arrested yt shee might get her into custody and then have her punishd, but Captain Brabzon conveyed her away Hee says into England, tho others believe hee still conceals her in Dublin: Whether I shall ever have ye luck to light on this idle woman, or of ye true papers wch Captain Brabzon saith hee hath, I know not, but I am very confident ye matter is sett on ffoot by some of ye Lewd woman of ye towne, for my wife having ever since her coming given discountenance to all such, I believe this will prove a contrivance of some of them in Revenge; and I can guesse either 3 or 4 who they are, but ye truth cannot bee known unlesse this Elizabeth Rigby bee taken: The whole affair is so wicked as, take it wch way it will, Capt Brabzon is most inexcusable, for either it was a fraud putt upon him, or a contrivance of his owne; If ye former hee ought to bee very diligent to detect ye same wch I doe not finde him much concerned to do; If a contrivance of his T'is a villany that makes him unfitt to keep any gentleman company for ye future.

CXV.—THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Dublin Castle May 19: 1677

Dear Brother

. . . I have now discovered somewhat more of that unhand-some affair concerning Captain Brabzon wch I sent you word of in my last, having found ye man who writt ye Letters, pretended to bee my wifes; Hee is a writing master of this Towne, and saith yt Eliz: Rigby, ye wench I mentioned in my former Letters came to him and dictated ye sd Letters desiring him to putt them into some hand like a woman's hand, and gave him money for soe doing: I have great presumptions and almost assurance yt some other idle women were ye contrivers and directed ye sd wench to have ye Letters writt, and if I can light of this Betty Rigby, who I hear is at Chester, I am pretty confident ye whole villany will come out.

As for what you write to mee concerning ye closing with treasurers party I have ever kept myselfe out of all partys, and to do

his Mat^{ys} businesse as my Master's, and not upon any other consideration, therefore I desire not to bee engaged any ways at all. And yt you may see what my carriage has bin to ye Kings ministry, I send you a copy of a Letter I once writt to my Ld of Shaftesbury when Chancellor, and in greatest power, wherein is a story of ye Emperor Charles ye 5th not inapplicable to ye affairs then in transaction¹: and truly I desire to continue ye same measure towards all of them whether I bee in Employment or not. Having nothing further to adde I remaine, etc.

CXVI.—

[Another paper, dated July 2, relating the Brabazon affair, may here be inserted. The first part which adds nothing to information already given, is omitted.—ED.]

T'is true indeed he (Brabazon) hath sent severall to mee, namely his mother ye Countess of Meath, his wife and my Lord Lanesborough to expostulate the matter with mee abt ye troop, but to this day wch is ye 2nd of July he hath never made any submission by any pat^{nt} acknowledging his errors.

My Ld Lanesborough when hee came to discuss ye affair with mee brought a paper from him wch hee said Mr Brabzon delivered him as a Letter sent from Chester from Eliz: Rigby to one of his grooms, and as written in ye same hand with these Letters pretended to come from my wife, but 'twas afterwards proved yt this very Letter was not written by Eliz: Rigby, but by a man in this town James Rigby, who also counterfeited ye other Letters, and is now found guilty in ye court of King's Bench for ye forgery, but can be brought to confesse no more then yt Eliz: Rigby did persuade him to write all ye said Letters for Mr Brabzon, and by those still

¹ The story is quoted in the Life of Shaftesbury, and applied to his action in refusing a present from the French King, which Charles, it is said, urged him to accept. The story is that a Chancellor of Charles V refusing to pass a grant, some Courtiers induced the Emperor to command him to do so, and this a second and a third time with promises of advancement if he complied. This failing, he was urged to dismiss his servant; but replied that he was a true man, so true that even his master could not bribe him to be otherwise. The letter referred to is LV of Essex Papers.

he framed suitable Replies. Hee askt her whether they were for herself, and shee said No, but for a Lady in ye Castle, yet would not, as she said, tell him who shee was. Mr Brabzon doth also own that hee writt answers to severall of these Letters that were delivered him as from my wife.

Coll. Talbott arrived here abt a fortnight since and sometime ye ast weeke told mee Mr Brabzon had bin with him who seemed to be much troubled concerning ye affaire, to wch I answered yt I did hear from all hands hee was much grieved for the loss of his troop; but I could never yet perceive hee was sensible of his fault and yt if he had anything of a gentleman in him ye having done so ill a thing would afflict him more than ye punishment wch he suffered for ye same; That I should be very glad if ye combination might bee found out for I was certain there were severall in it wch could not yet be knowne. Coll Talbot replied hee was confident if I would permit him to discusse it with him (for neither hee nor I did think fit any message should bee sent him as from mee) hee would get all out of him. So I wisht him to try what he could doe: Since wch Coll Talbot acquainted mee that he had discust ye affair with him and urged ye barbarity and folly of his proceeding, had prest him even in point of honour hee ought to discover those who were in ye combination. That hee looked upon mee as a person not inexorable, and yt if hee would doe as became a gentleman he did hope and believe some means might be made by mee to compose ye whole matter: Mr Brabzon told him yt hee had severall of ye letters by him wch were pretended to come from my wife, and yt he was very willing to deliver them up; To this Coll: Talbot said that would bee to no purpose since by other means T'was discovered by what hand they had bin writt and yt ye part hee had now to do was to reveal ye whole combination wch would bee a means to bring all those wch transacted this affair to their just punishment, and so prest him to declare all hee knew of ye same; Hee then as Coll: Talbott tells mee fumbled very much in his discourse, yet seemed to deny ye knowledge of any thing, but at last said yt if hee did know it, Hee would dye before hee would tell it.

CXVII.—SIR CYRIL WYCHE TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

St James Square Saturday
12. May 77

May it please yr Excell^{cy}

My Lord Treasurer has cleared himself of those things wch seemed to stick upon him in relation to ye excise,¹ and it remains now yt ye difference between him and my Lord of Ormond should bee made up, wch is pretty well advanced already, and in a little time will bee skinned, next my Ld of Ormond declared yt wht hee had done was without ye least intention of reflexion upon my Lord Treasurer, and ye D of York endeavours a right understanding between them. This morning I waited on my Lord Treasurer about my Lord of Orrery's businesse according to yr Excellencie's commands of ye 28 April (wch came but with ye letters of ye post after it) his Ldship is willing to assist in ye thing, and bid mee bring him ye Letter wch is to be signed for it, and hee will move it, so yt I beleeve I may quickly send it over dispatcht.

When I had done speaking of this matter hee took mee aside into another room, and told mee yt having heard yt ye report went current about ye town yt hee had had a hand in effecting yr Excell^{cies} recalling, and had bin active in a design to procure ye Lieutenancy for ye D: of Monmouth hee thought it not amisse to acquaint mee yt hee had not in ye least endeavoured either. Yt ye first time he heard of any resolution taken in this matter was a little before ye last session, when ye D: of Ormond came to visit him, and told him yt ye King had resolved to recall yr Excell^{cies} and yt he should goe thither at wch he confessed he was somewhat surprised, having not till then heard one word of any such thing, yt as he owned he had not labored yr Excellencie's continuance in yr command, so neither had he in any kind contributed to yr coming home but in ye whole matter had been unconcerned either way, or for any other. His Lordship having thought fitt to make this declaration to mee I thought it my duty to acquaint yr Excell^{cies} with it. The way in wch yr Lordship has with great prudence

¹ See Letter CX.

received ye King's pleasure in ye change, and yr cheerful and ready submission to him in it, is very acceptable to him, he declared his satisfaction in it ye other day publicquely before severall yt were by, saying yt you had done him very good service all ye while you had bin there, and that now he thought fitt to send for you home whereas others used to continue and struggle yr Excell: submitted with all ye easiness yt could bee . . .

CXVIII.—SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Spring Gardens 26 May

1677

My Lord

. . . My Lord I am by promise obliged to give yr Exc^y the series of what relates unto the French businesse. The meeting of ye House was opened with a message from ye King referring to his last answer when ye House addressed unto him, wherein 600,000^{lbs} was declared necessary to be putt into a condition to speak and act the things yt were fitt. This drew on ye debate of inquiring what allyances were made since ye last meeting, and if none, yt they seemed to be called out of season, since all tooke the proclamation to be designed at this very instant, and the sense of the House ran soe strong to reinforce their former addresses that his Mat^y sent for them to attend him, and then declared plainly yt he could make noe steps or adventure towards what they desired without the summe mentioned wch by ye word of a King should be employed as it ought to be. But it fell out yt this had not ye successe desired . . . for ye House fell into much debates and a sort of scrutiny, and jealous conjectures, some going so farr as to say that the money was indeed askt, but not desired; And to be refused was thought excuse enough for not doing what some had no mind to doe. Much was argued the other way, the necessity of a Trust somewhere and the fitnessse of reposing that in the King. But nothing could resist the pursute of those allyances wch had bin so much and so often in debate; soe that a vote passed for another addresse wch was yesterday brought in, when the particular exception

against it fell only on yt part yt names ye allyance with Holland, and makes it defensive and offensive; wch was much urged to be an intrenchment on ye Prerogative where the power of peace and warr is singly vested. This did not receive any good answer, but that there seemed a necessity to mention Holland as most useful to us and most likely of all other confederates to slipp out of the warr if not powerfully held up in it. Upon this point the House divided but by 40 voyces carryed for retayning the particular mention of ye States Generall &c

This afternoon the King read the addresse returning for answer that the paper was long and of importance, that he would consider of it, and returne them an answer as soone as he could.

The Commons sent up this day to ye Lords their Bill for recalling his Majties subjects from the French service.

The weather grows Hott and t'is not thought this will be a long session.

I am, etc., etc.

CXIX.—FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Spring Gardens 29 May 1677.

My Lord,

I have but this one word more touching France. That as soon as the Speaker had yesterday morning told the House what his Maty said at presenting him the Adresse on Saturday, Mr Secretary declared his Matys command to be immediately attended in the Banqueting Room—there his Maty came, and read the enclosed paper, wch the Speaker returning withall, read unto the House. And afterwards sayd that his Maty added his command for the adjourning of the House till the 16th of July next.

But Mr Powle¹ rising up briskly, and desiring to be heard, the Speaker sayd it was very improper to enter into any debate when by his Matys command the House was adjourned. To this many

¹ Or Powell. See *Calendar of Domestic State Papers 1677-78*, pp. 137 and passim for full report of this debate. Mr Powle was to carry up the Bill to the Lords.

made answer yt the House ought to adjourn itselfe. And soe some crying Speak on, and others adjourn, the Speaker sayd he should be soone driven into a streight. And as the voyces on either syde increased, soe did his concerne, till at last he called out saying, that his Mat^y had commanded an adjournment to ye 16^t of July and the House was adjourned accordingly. Soe he stept down from the chaire, but finding many called earnestly to the chaire again he was faine (Instead of sitting among his friends awhile to discourse) to call ye Sergeant to take away the mace and soe he walked out, by many attended, and a great number sitting still and crying Sitt on: Sitt on.

But the noise did soon abate. Yett many continued then to discourse in private, some on the case of the Lord Keeper Finch,¹ others about precedents how far ye House had touched upon advising in peace and warr, and others contending the other way, particularly saying yt ye Speaker could doe no lesse when a question of prerogative had bin soe newly in dispute, and his Mat soe dissatisfyde thereat.

I only presume to tell yr Ex^{ty} matter of fact leaving ye varyety of opinions and discourses unto other persons.

May many years of long life and happinesse crowne his Mat^y who is this day 47 years old.

I am, etc.

CXX.—SIR H. CAPEL TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

[The letter concludes with this warning in numerical cipher.—ED.]

The *secrets are few that I care to write to you* in the position wherein *you are*. But this being of importance I send it to you. From several *hands I have* intelligence that *Treas. intends* to use all means to be *intimate with you* to *what end I know not* I am told he will again *invite you* to his *friendship* by all the engines he can imploy. I have notice given mee that *Col Talbot hath it* in design to promote it. *I am* not confident of this but I know

¹ Who when Speaker of the Parliament of 1629 had been held in his chair in order to prevent an adjournment of the House.

enough to give you notice. I beleeeve 'twill be through *want* of knowledge of this *Court* if you are now *stained* by any of their *intrigues*. It is unfortunate that *I shall not be at London* at your arrival to give you information of *them*. *I can advise you to keep yourself* as independent of *all partys* as now you are. And that you *prevent* as much as possible these *artifices* of this wounded gent *Treas.* who never intending *your good* I fear would by strategem *endeavour* to destroy the *good esteem* which you generally have at this time in *the nation* and with *King*. I know not who to recom-
mend you to for advice at *Court* when you come, so embarked are they all in *partys*. But *your own* plain way of behaviour towards King, and bring no stranger to *your own house* is believed to be the most *safe* and the most effectuall means of all to gain the good will of all honest men.

June 1st 1677.

CXXI.—MR. SECRETARY COVENTRY TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Whitehall June 12th 1677

My L^d

I have r^d your Exce^{lleys} by Sir Cyrill Wyche with the enclosed letter I shall send it to my Lord Treasurer for his approbation, and then give it all the dispatch I cann.

You will by this post receive a letter from his Ma^{ty} to recommend Mr Benyon¹ to a foote company vacant by the death of Col. Buller here in England. I putting the King in minde to thinke whether hee had not sent some precedent recomendations, his Ma^{ty} made answer hee would have Benyon have it, and the same he averred to my Ld of Ormond, and gave mee comand to write to yr Exce^{lley} wch I rather choose then to have a non obstante clause in the recomendatory letter for if once yt style gott into the office it would bee quickly urged as a precedent and bee made the common style of all letters.

Here is the copy of a pass brought me by one of the groomes of the Bedchamber as from his Ma^{ty}. I went with it to his Ma^{ty}

¹ Sir H. Capel alludes to Benyon as a friend of the King in Flanders "when ye Courtiers lived upon him."

and represented to him the difficulties I thought there were in it. His Mat^y sayd women seldome understood theyre owne buisnesse but seemed willing that if unfaisable or inconvenient it mought bee layd aside upon reasons returned from your Excl^leny rather than to have the sending of it refused, but I finde hee did no way intend to press yr Exce^lley to any irregularity, and I suppose the time for the sitting of the Court of Claimes is now nigh its conclusion that the buisnesse will be impassable as well as irregular, and the first is always an unquestionable excuse.

Your brother H. Capell hath acquainted mee with some affaires concerning yr Exce^llencies own particular.¹ You may be assured it shall find all the dispatch and assistance I can possibly give it, and if the obstruction canne be removed with one person it will goe smooth enough elsewhere.

I am with all possible respect and esteeme, etc.

CXXII.—

[The paper here alluded to follows.—ED.]

Whereas the King hath referred a Pencon in Lord Rochester's name to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for granting certain lands in a schedule annexed to the use of Mrs Gwyn these lands are likely to be disposed of otherwise then the King intends by the Court of claymes. It is therefore humbly desired his Mat^y will be pleased to order Mr Secretary to write to the Lieutenant to take private order with the Comm^{rs} of the Court of Claymes that the hearing of all causes concerning the said lands named in the schedule may be deferred and that the other causes may be finished before these be meddled with.

CXXIII.—THE EARL OF ESSEX TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

Dublin Castle Augst 15.: 77

My Lord

On Sunday last I received yr Grace's Letter of ye 4th instant wch gave mee notice yt you had begun yr journey; I have ordered

¹ The grant for his services.

ye ships w^{ch} you desired to attend yr Grace at Holyhead. Sir John Champion hath desired leave to goe for England w^{ch} truly I would not venture to give him without ye advice of ye Privy Councill, and it being proposed there, hee was called in and asked if ye Lord Ranela had deputed any one in his absence to supply his place, and hee telling us there was none, but yt hee would leave the business in such order as there would not need any, The Councill were so little satisfied wth this answer as they were all unanimously of opinion yt hee ought not to have permission to goe. The reasons are too long for a letter but they are such as I beleive cannot bee answered.

I have nothing further to acquaint yr Grace till I see you but wish you a prosperous voyage and remaine, etc.

CXXIV.—PROPOSALS AND CONSIDERATIONS HUMBLY OFFERED TO
YOUR MAT^{IES} FOR YOUR SERVICE IN IRELAND.

That yo^r Mat^{ies} Revenue in that Kingdom may in the first place be applyed to bring the payments upon the Establishment within the Compasse of the certain Revenue, y^t so all who are upon the Establishment may constantly receive what shall be due to them at the time appointed for their payment.

The facility of doing this seems at this time to be very apparent by the Calculations of the Charge and Revenue made by the L^d Lieu^t, the Lord Ranelagh, and others, which do bring the income and issues to such a Ballance, that in a short time (if the Revenue shall be reserved to that use) all y^e arreares of the Military list and pentions incurred since y^e end of y^e Lord Ranelagh's contract will be pay'd.

Till this be done and whilst y^e Army is in arreare, It will be hard to keep y^e officers to their duty or so in their Garrisons as will be necessary for y^e well disciplining and Exercising of their troops and Companies for they will still have y^e pretence of soliciting for their pay to excuse their absence and y^e co^mmon soldier will be forced (as heretofore they have been) to look for worke too far from their

garrisons for their subsistence; But it will be more difficult till they are fully and constantly pay^d to remove troops and Companies from one garrison to another w^{ch} ought frequently to be done to prevent all the corruptions they may contract by their long continuance in one place which may extend further and to more dangerous inconveniences (especially in some places) then those of making false Musters and taking unfitt persons to fill up their Rolls. And if there shall be any occasion to draw any considerable part of the Army into a body, without first discharging their old quarters and fitting themselves for y^e Expedition, they will be followed with the Clam^rs of those who have trusted them for their support in their old quarters and that clam^r reaching as farre as to the new, they will there find no credit, or find it upon so hard terms that all their year's pay may not answer what may be exacted from them in six months. So shall they always be in want, Discouragement and Disorder, and neither y^e souldiers nor y^e country satisfied with the Government because it will be well known to both that ye Revenue is capable of doing more then discharging y^e Establishment and what advantage all men may make of such opportunities and so generall an ill temper is humbly submitted to y^{or} Mat^{ties} consideration.

Beside these inconveniences, whilst ye Army is in any considerable arreare, as of four, five, or six months, almost all ye souldiers and very many of y^e Officers will become a prey to ye inferior officers and ministers of y^e Treasury and to the farmers' servants', or Collectors by taking money from them for their present releife upon acquittances or Imprest at immoderate defalcations and they be no less lyable to abuse by their Hosts in their Garrisons, who will reckon with them to take trickets from them at what Rates they please; so that if ye Army shall at any time be six months in arreare, It is well if they can ever receive y^e Reall value of their month's pay for it, for that is more in proportion then generally they have had for any arreare they have got fallen into.

In case y^{or} Mat^{tie} shall think fitt to call a Parliament in that Kingdom with an expectation to have your constant Revenue augmented, and a sum of money given you for the erecting and

repairing of Forts and Magazines, for the providing of arms and ammunition of all sorts, for the raising of more men to reinforce yo^r Army, and for the building and constant maintaining of such ships of war and other vessels as may serve for the guard and convenience of that Kingdom in times of peace, whereby so much of the charge of the navy in this Kingdome may be saved, no arguments will be so powerful to persuade them to liberality as to see y^t ye present overplus of y^e Revenue is bestowed to the support of the army and payment of y^e Establishment in which every member of Parliament who hath land will be concerned (beside the publique safety) for their particular interest, the well payment of their Rents depending much upon y^e well paying of y^e Army, which is garrisoned or quartered upon or near their Estates: And those who may be of the house of Co^mons and who have no lands, but hold offices Civill and Military depending upon y^e Government will be no less encouraged when they shall see their pay and salarys put into a constant way of payment: On ye other hand if they find y^t what they have already given hath outgrown ye charge of y^e Government, and yet that part of y^e Establishment which tends to y^e defence and security of y^e Kingdome is left unpay^d and that y^e army and other parts of ye Establishm^t do seem to be doomed to be in perpetual arreare, when there is more than enough to keep it from being in any; I much doubt that if anything be gained, it will come hardly and narrowly from them; whereas if they see the overplus disposed of as I humbly propose, I make little doubt but that they will extend themselves to their utmost ability to augment yo^r Ma^{tie}s Revenue, and to raise competent sūms for ye ends afore mentioned, or for any other purpose y^t may be supplied by y^e comoditys of that Kingdom. But if there were no expectation of such a supply or increase of Revenue yet in order to ye keeping it at y^e height it is, I conceive it absolutely necessary for yo^r Ma^{tie} to bring the Establishment out of arreare, and to keep it soe; for y^e farmers do say (and as I hear have so represented it to my L^d Lieu^t) that if the army and Civill Lyst shall continue in arreare it will be impossible for them to continue their monthly payment which depends on y^e speedy circulation of that little money which

drives the trade of that Kingdom. Upon y^e whole matter y^r Ma^{tie} may be pleased to consider whether there is really any such thing as an overplus when (unlesse yo^r Revenue be employ'd to prevent it) there will be still seven months pay due to y^e Army before it shall receive three, when there is nothing yett sett downe in the Establishm^t for y^e constant expence of powder, no fort in the Kingdom in repair, no stores of any kind in y^e office of y^e ordinance, nor any traine of Artillery in readinesse to march, which are such esentiall defects as render an army in effect uselesse. So that altho I have proposed y^e raising of fourteene new Companys for the reinforcem^t of yo^r Army when I thought there would be an overplus of about thirty thousand pounds a year to rayse and maintaine them, Now that I find there is no overplus, I presume humbly to advise yo^r Ma^{tie} not to increase the Charge of yo^r Establishment till y^e Revenue shall have pay'd all ye arreare now due: All this I hold it my duty to represent to yo^r Ma^{tie}'s Consideration the — Day of July 1677.

[Though the Duke of Ormond began his journey to Ireland on August 4, or earlier, that being the date of his arrival at Oxford, he was a long time on the way, and the order for his reception was not drawn up until August 17. This order, which contains several alternatives depending upon the spot at which the Duke might land, is printed in Carte's Life of him. After fulfilling his intention to place the sword in the hands of his successor, Essex left Ireland. Sir Cyril Wyche writes to him from Dublin on August 29 and a long letter from the Earl of Orrery is dated September 4. Letters from Bishop Parry, and Sir John Temple, dated September 11 and 15, congratulate him upon his arrival, and another letter from Wyche, now in the service of Ormond, about the balance due on the late farm, is of the latter date. But with Essex's arrival in England the Essex Correspondence practically ceases. The remainder of 1677 and the whole of 1678 pass without a single letter. In May 2, 1679, the Correspondence is temporally renewed by a letter from Orrery, who alludes to the King's change of policy and to Essex's appointment as first Commissioner of the Treasury: "Tis more than hoped; That now his Mat^y has put affairs in ye position he has done in England, that this Kingdome as well as

that, will suddenly prove ye effects of it. And ye confidence thereof is not a little heightened by that station yr L^d is in, wch I fervently hope is but an earnest yt you will be presently called to another, more fitt for you, and more for ye publick good than yt you now are at present in." Several letters from the same hand follow, together with a copy of the examination of a Captain David Lavallin. Written shortly before Lord Orrery's death, these are of some interest in the light they throw upon his complex character, and as evidence of his continued friendly relationship to Essex; but their detachment in time from the main correspondence makes their inclusion unnecessary, and the Duke of Ormond's "Proposals and Considerations for the King's Service in Ireland," is perhaps the most fitting conclusion to this collection of the Essex Papers.]

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